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**Area Studies Programme
(Pakistan)**

STUDIES : ISLAMIC & ORIENTAL

By

QAZI AHMAD MIAN AKHTAR

With a Foreword by

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FOREWORD

It may be said that in India research activities connected with Islamic subjects on the Western lines, with English as the medium of expression, are centered mainly in some of the Universities where chairs exist for Arabic and Persian. But actually good results are possible only where the occupants of such chairs happen to possess extraordinary enthusiasm for the subjects they profess, and have a will which refuses to succumb to the daily routine of official duties, and the endless series of meetings of various kinds, which they must attend if they want to keep their subjects alive, but which take away so much of their valuable time, sap their energies, and dull their keenness for literary work, by constantly disturbing their peace of mind and by vitiating the atmosphere essential for fruitful research.

Apart from these gentlemen who have to engage in research as a part of their duty or as a labour of love there are here and there a few learned individuals of private means, whose scholarly interests have urged them to spend their leisure in producing

scholarly work. My friend Qádí Ahmád Míán Akhtar of Junágadh (Kathiawár), I am glad to say, is one of them. He is descended from an ancient family of the Qádís of Junágadh. His ancestors migrated from Sind some three centuries ago and a jágír which the Mughuls granted them is still held by the family. He was educated at Júnágadh, the Islamia High School, Etawah and the ~~Mahabat~~ Madrasá, Júnágadh, and for advanced work in Persian and Arabic he went to Delhi and Lucknow teachers. He was, however, in his {School} days and later a voracious reader, particularly, of the works of the European Orientalists. Through a close study of their methods of work and by extensive reading, the Qádí made his acquaintance with the historical methods of research. His contacts with other men of letters in the country, for which he travelled about a good deal, added to his keenness for knowledge and his zest for enquiry, and well might he claim now :

تَمَتعْ زَهْرَ كُوشْهَةِ يَا قَمْ زَهْرَ خَرْمَنْيَ خَوْشَهَةِ يَا قَمْ

His love for Islamic studies induced him to build up a private Library of books on the subjects in which he was interested for his own use, which has grown considerably during the last twenty-five years. Besides, Júnágadh has a State library and its College

and its Archæological society also possess good libraries. Then, Bombay, with its University Library, the Asiatic Society Library, and the Jāmi‘ Masjid Library, is not too far off. With all these libraries accessible to him, no wonder the Qádī found a Helicon for slaking his thirst for knowledge, and his well-planned studies produced good results.

Apart from a collection of Urdu poems—for he is a poet also—he has published about a dozen books in Urdu, also published some works on Islamic subjects in Gujarati and done a pioneer’s work in that field. He has also contributed articles to various learned magazines, and read papers at some of the sessions of the All-India Oriental Conference and other learned societies.

The collection of studies which he is now publishing is comprised of some such papers and articles. It is for the reader to judge of their merit, but a few facts stand out so clearly that they may be mentioned here. Even if one may not agree with him in all his conclusions and in all his opinions, one admires the patient and extensive search made by him for relevant facts, and the pains taken by him in collecting them from the Eastern and Western sources, to which he has given copious reference throughout. Here and there the idiom may be faulty, or the rendering too literal, or the translitera-

tion not perfectly systematic, yet these faults can be easily overlooked by the generous reader, who is presented in a small compass with the results of much laborious research, in a readable form. And does not Amir Khusrau say :

غلامِ هفت آن عارفانِ با کریم

که بک صواب به یعنید و صد خطاب نخشد

The two articles on the art of Waráqa are both interesting and informing. Those on al-Máwardí and the Arabic sources of Gujarat Sultanate are fairly comprehensive in their scope, and full of useful information. The one relating to Sa'di's visit to Somnáth raises an intriguing issue. What the author says about Shams-i-Tabriz and the etymology of the word Saracen brings to light some fresh points and is well documented.

But why pick and choose where every article offers valuable material, from one point of view or the other ? Much that is contained in the following pages is stimulating and thought-inspiring and the Qádí Sahib deserves our thanks for the same.

24 Masson Road,

Lahore

20-12-1945

MUHAMMAD SHAFI'.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

My object in the publication of this little volume is none other than to present in a book form my papers and articles on different Oriental and Islamic subjects to the students of Oriental literature. These are my studies penned on different occasions, in recent years. Some of them are the papers read at different sessions of the All-India Oriental Conference ; some are my contributions to Islamic journals.

The writer lays no claim to originality, but it will be observed that he has broken some new grounds in the field of Oriental research and has thrown some light on the subjects which have hitherto received scant attention of the scholars or have been totally neglected.

It was difficult to bring all these contributions under one particular title on account of the variety and diversity of their subjects, in which the writer was interested, but since all these writings belong, one way or the other, to Oriental or Islamic litera-

ture and culture, the appropriateness of the title will be duly appreciated.

I am aware of my shortcomings and I must confess my inability to do full justice to the subjects treated in these studies. My labours will be amply repaid if they could help to create an interest for research in the students of Oriental and Islamic learning.

It will not be out of place here to mention that in writing most of these articles the writer was inspired by the appreciation and encouragement of that great English Muslim scholar the late lamented Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall who was much interested in the writer's contributions and evinced great solicitude in securing and publishing them in his quarterly *The Islamic Culture* of Hyderabad of which he was the editor. May his soul rest in heaven, is the only prayer which now could be offered to him.

I am much indebted to the renowned Oriental scholar of India and an Arabist of high repute Maulavi Muhammad Shafi', M.A. (Cantab.), formerly Professor of Arabic in the Panjab University, for so kindly writing a Foreword on this small volume.

My grateful thanks are due to my learned

friend Dr. Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Persian, Panjab University, for systematising the transliteration and making useful suggestions.

My thanks are also due to the members of the Editorial Board of *The Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, to the General Secretary, All-India Oriental Conference and the Editor *Islamic Review* of the Woking Mission for their kind permission to reprint my articles from their journals and reports.

Lastly, I gratefully acknowledge the kind courtesy of Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf for undertaking the publication of this book, especially in these hard times of scarcity and high price of paper. The enterprising Lahore publisher deserves great appreciation and encouragement for having published more than a dozen books from the pen of Muslim scholars on various Islamic and Oriental subjects thereby rendering signal service to the cause of Islamic Learning.

Qaziwada,
Junagadh.

QAZI A. AKHTAR

CONTENTS

FOREWORD	...	iii
AUTHOR'S PREFACE	...	vii
I. THE ART OF WARĀQAT DURING THE ABBĀSID PERIOD	...	1
II. SA'DĪ'S VISIT TO SOMNĀTH	...	21
III. A TRACT OF AVICENNA TRANSLATED BY 'UMAR-I-KHAYYĀM	...	37
APPENDIX I	...	53
APPENDIX II	...	60
IV. SHAMS TABRĪZI	...	64
V. THE ARABIC POETRY OF HĀFIZ	...	73
VI. MORE ABOUT THE ART OF WARĀQAT	...	96
VII. THE TRIBULATIONS OF INDIA	...	121
VIII. THE SARACENS : ETYMOLOGY AND DENOMINATION	...	141
IX. AL-MĀWARDI: A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND WORKS	...	159
X. ARABIC SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF GUJARAT SULTANATE	...	203
INDEX I (Persons)	...	216
INDEX II (Places and Books etc.)	...	222

I

THE ART OF WARĀQAT¹ DURING THE 'ABBĀSID PERIOD

AT a time when the art of printing was unknown, copying and writing by hand was very popular, and hence this art, known as warāqat, came into existence and flourished for a long time throughout the Islamic world.

Different interpretations have been given to the term warāqat. Generally, it was used for copying and stationery as defined by As-Sam'ānī.² But the French Orientalist De Slane has translated it as "Bookbinding" in the notice of the Spanish poet and man of letters Ash-Shantarīnī (d. 617 A.H.), inferred from his verses, given by Ibn Khallikān.³ The learned Orientalist has also explained, in a footnote, the general meaning of the term to signify also the profession of a stationer and that of a copyist.

But⁴ there is no justification for such inference,

¹ Paper read at the Urdu Section of the Seventh Session of the Indian Oriental Conference, held at Baroda, on the 27th and 29th December, 1933.

² *Ansāb*, fol. 579. (London.)

³ Vol. I, p. 264.

⁴ English translation of Ibn Khallikān, Vol. III, pp. 59-61.

as in these verses the likening of a bookbinder to a tailor who prepares dress for others and remains himself naked, does not apply to a bookbinder, but in this way the greatly fallen condition of this art is indicated.¹

The term *warāqat* was also applied to bookselling, as suggested by Ibn Nadīm's use of *warrāqīn* for the booksellers of Bağhdād² as well as Ibn Jawzī and Khaṭīb's mention³ of the *Sūqu'l-warrāqīn* for the book-markets of Bağhdād.⁴

Thus it is evident that the term *warāqat* was applied to :

- (1) Copying and transcription, (2) Stationery,
 (3) Bookselling.

Now I am going to show under each separate head, and by other details pertaining thereto, how far the Muslims had given an impulse to the art of *warāqat* absolutely for the cause of disseminating the arts and sciences among the people. The scope of my paper is confined to the 'Abbāsid period as the Islamic rule for its culture and civilisation covers a more extensive field.

¹ Ibn Khalḍūn (*Muqaddimah*, Bulāq ed. pp. 398-400), in his chapter on *Warāqat*, mentions bookbinding as included in this art, which in his time (8th century A H.) had fallen into disrepute.

² *Fihrist*, p. 169, (Cairo ed.)

³ J.R.A.S. (1912) p. 71, the Arabic text quoted from Al-Khaṭīb's *History of Baghddād*, Vol. 27 MS.

⁴ *Mandqib Baghddād*, p. 26.

The Art of Copying

In the earlier centuries of Islam this art was cultivated and developed to the highest pitch. The persons well-versed in this art were called “*Warrāqīn*” or “*Nassākhīn*.”

Like the pre-Islamic poets, who had their own “*rawī*” or humanist, almost every learned man had his own *warrāq* or amanuensis. Ibn Sa'd, author of a huge compendium on the Prophet's biography, was the scribe of Al-Wāqidī.¹ Ishāq b. Hunain, the renowned Christian physician of Baghdād, had employed a scribe named Arzaq, in whose handwriting Ibn Abī Uṣaibī'a saw the Arabic translations of Galen's works signed by his master Ḥunain.² Sindī b. 'Alī was the scribe of the celebrated musician of Baghdād, Ishāq al-Mawsili.³ Aḥmad b. Akhī, a Shāfi'i man of letters was an employee of Ibn 'Abdūs al-Jahshiyārī.⁴ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qarashī worked as a copyist for Ibn Fatīs of Damascus (d. 350 A.H.).⁵ Ibn Malsāqā wrote for the eminent Jewish physician Ifraīm az-Zaffān—Ibn Abī Uṣaibī'a saw MSS. of his writing signed by his master.⁶

The art of copying being greatly profitable was acquired and adopted as a means of livelihood by many literary men of the day. Ibn Haitham, the

¹ *Fihrist*, p. 145.

² *Tabaqātū'l-Āṭibbā*, I, p. 188.

³ *Fihrist*, p. 203.

⁴ Yāqūt, *Irshād*, I, p. 81.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 78.

⁶ *Tabaqātū'l-Āṭibbā*, II, p. 105.

great mathematician and optician of Egypt in the 4th century A.H., used to transcribe Arabic versions of Euclid and the *Majastī* (syntaxis) of Ptolemy and sell them for a price which provided him with a living all the year round.¹

Abu Sa'id aş-Şairafī (d. 368 A.H.), who was appointed *Qādī* in some suburbs of Bağhdād, lived on this profession. Before attending to his duties, which he discharged honorarily, he used to copy 20 pages for which he received a remuneration of 10 dirhems (four rupees) daily.² A famous litterateur of Fez, Ahmād b. 'Abdu'llāh al-Huṭai'ah (d. 560 A.A.) depended on copying for his daily bread.³ Al-Kirmānī (d. 329 A.H.), a grammarian and lexicographer, wrote for money.⁴ Ibn Abkhar, the *Qādī* of Alexandria (d. 568), used to copy books and was paid for it.⁵

Those who were unemployed and could not betake themselves to any career, sought their daily bread by adopting the profession of a copyist. There were many learned men who in the days of their adversity fell back upon this helpful profession. Yāqūt has furnished us with the instance of a scholar, Ahmād b. Sulaimān Al-Qati'i who, on account of adverse circumstances, was near starvation. His wife and children also shared the same fate with him. At last his wife cried out for the starvation of her

¹ *Tabaqātu'l Aṭibbā*, p. 90.

² *Ibn Khallikān*, I, p. 54.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

⁴ Yāqūt, *Irshād*, III, pp. 84, 105.

⁵ Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, p. 47.

young ones. She advised her husband to sell his books, but the true lover of books did not like to part with them. He at last succeeded in saving himself and his family by applying himself to the profession of copying books and selling them in the market.¹

Another man, a learned traditionist, who was one of the teachers of At-Tirmidhī and Nasā'i, earned his living by copying books. As-Şafadī gives a curious anecdote about him. Once he was reduced to chill penury and worked hard at his profession. One night while he was writing with a fast hand, suddenly he lost his eyesight through cataract. He was totally blind and could not see even the light of the lamp before him. On this sudden calamity he began to shed tears of remorse and in the same state he fell asleep. He dreamt and beheld the Prophet in a vision. The Prophet inquired the cause of his weeping. He complained of the loss of his eyesight and his deprivation from writing the Prophet's sayings. The Prophet then put his hand on his eyes and chanted something over them. When he awoke he found to his astonishment his eyesight restored. He sat again at his work and began copying.² Ar-Raffa as-Sirrī (d. 360 A.H.), the celebrated poet of Baghdād, who wrote encomia on Saifu'd-Dawlah and other princes of the Ḥamdānid dynasty, in his impecuniosity, used to compose his poems and sell them out in the market. But when he incurred many debts, he began

¹ *Yāqūt.* I, pp. 38-39.

² *Nakṭu'l-Himyān*, p. 312.

to work as a copyist.¹ An eminent literary man and lexicographer, Abu Naṣr Sulaimān b. Qaṭramish (d. 620 A.H.), after his father's death squandered away money on gambling, and in utter destitution started on the career of a copyist.² In the 9th century A.H. to what extent the art of copying had fallen into decay can be gauged from the verses of *Ash-Shantarinī*, referred to above, who tried hard to secure any humble situation but could not get one, and at last entered the service of the Governor of a province as a scribe. His services being dispensed with, he earned his living by copying MSS.³

In this connection it is noteworthy that there were persons among these copyists who wrote abundantly and with a fast hand which excites our wonderment. The Ḥanbalite tradinionist and jurist, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdu’l-Dā’im al-Maqdisī (d. 668 A.H.) wrote so rapidly that he transcribed 9 *kurrasa* (36 pages) in his leisure hours. It is said of him that he copied the text of the well-known work on Jurisprudence, *Al-Qudūrī*, in one night, which may seem highly improbable. He was engaged in his profession for 50 years. During this period he copied two thousand volumes, to which he alludes in a poem quoted by Aṣ-Ṣafadī.⁴ He also copied twice the *History of Damascus*, which is a voluminous work.

¹ *Ansāb*, fol. 255.

² *Suyūṭī*, *Bughya*, p. 46.

³ *Ibn Khallikān*, I, p. 264.

⁴ *Nakū'l-Himyān*, p. 99 and *Fawḍtu'l-Wafayāt*, I p. 46.

It is said of Yahyā b. 'Adī, a philosopher at Baghdād, that he was a prolific copyist. Once a friend expressed wonder at his writing so much, to which he replied : You may be astonished at my sitting for a long time and reading so many books, but you should be aware that I have written with my own hand two copies of Ṭabari's commentary on the Qur'ān, a stupendous work of enormous size, and submitted them to the princes in the neighbourhood. And the works of the scholastic philosophers which I have copied are countless. By God, I can write more than 100 pages in a day and a night.¹

Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī informs us that a traditionist and poet of the 6th century, Ibn Ikhwatu'l-'Attār (d. 548 A.H.), wrote a large number of books—difficult to enumerate. Ibn an-Najiramī saw a copy of *At-Tanbih* by Abu Ishāq Šīrāzī written by him, at the end of which he says that it was written in one day. He transcribed one thousand MSS.² Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (d. 644 A.H.), a historian and a philosopher, was a calligraphist and an expert copyist. He used to write 4 *kurrasa* (16 pages) daily, while lying on his back. He wrote a large work named *Majma'ul-Ādāb fī Mu'jma'il-Asmā 'alā Mu'jimi'l-Alqāb*, comprising 50 volumes.³

As scribes were employed in almost all the

¹ Qiftī, *Tārikhu'l-Hukamā*, p. 369, (Lippert ed.)

² Ṣafadī, *Fawātī*, I, p. 268.

³ *Ibid* , I, p. 272.

private and public libraries, so this profession attracted a large number of persons. They were well remunerated. In the grand library of the Banū 'Ammār at Tripoli, 180 scribes were employed for copying MSS., and of them 30 persons were constantly at work in the library.¹ There were several scribes in the library of the famous historian Abu'l-Fidā, the ruler of Hamāt in Syria. In the middle of the seventh century, there were numerous scribes in the library of Ibn al-Ghazzāl, the Wazīr. Once he wanted to get copied Ibn 'Asākir's history of Damascus comprising 80 closely written MS. volumes ; and that being a colossal work it was distributed to ten scribes, 8 volumes to each. They set to copying the work and were able to finish it in two years.² In the same way, scribes were employed in the libraries of Cairo,³ and Shīrāz.⁴ The same was the case in the library of the Caliph Al-'Azīz in Egypt⁵ and in Al-Ḥakam's library.⁶

Ibn Khallikān, in his notice of Al-Farrā the grammarian, describes the incident of getting his two works, *Kitābu'l-Mā'ānī* and *Kitābu'l-Hudūd*, transcribed at the instance of Caliph al-Mā'mūn, which gives us an idea of the great number of the scribes. When Al-Mā'mūn, says the author,

¹ *History of Ibn al-Furāt*, MS., fol. 36.

² *Tabaqātu'l-Āṭibbā*, II, pp. 234-236. ³ *Maqrīzī*, Khifāt, I, p. 458.

⁴ *Yaṣqūt*, *Irshād*, V, p. 447.

⁵ *Maqrīzī*, I, p. 409.

⁶ *Ibn Khaldūn*, Vol. IV, p. 146.

ordered Al-Farrā to compose a book on the principles of Grammar he employed scribes and dictated to them for two years when the book was completed. Next time, when Al-Farrā called the copyists to his presence to dictate to them his book on Rhetoric so large a number of scribes rushed to the spot as rendered their counting difficult. Only judges among them were counted, 80 in number.¹ The same author has stated in his notice of the Wazīr Ibn Killis that in his house sat different batches of scribes employed for particular branches. One batch copied the Qur'ān only another transcribed books on Hadīth, jurisprudence, literature and medicine. A large number of them was simply retained for putting in diacritical points.²

The art of calligraphy was a by-product of the art of copying, which was carried to perfection. It produced artists like Ibn al-Bawwāb, Ibn Muqlah, Yāqūt al-Musta'simī and a host of others. There were learned divines, men of letters and artists among them, like Ibn Jawzī, Al-Jawharī, the author of the Arabic dictionary *Aṣ-Ṣīḥāḥ*, the celebrated musician 'Abd al-Mu'min Iṣfahānī, etc. On account of their beautiful penmanship their works were appreciated and sold at fancy prices. The well-known calligraphist Yāqūt al-Musta'simī (d. 618 A.H.), who bore the title of "Abu'd-Durar" (father of pearls) on account of his beautiful writings, was a

¹ *Ibn Khallikān*, II, p. 228. ² *Ibid.*, p. 334.

master-hand of great reputation. It is stated by Ibn Khallikān that his MSS. have spread throughout the whole Islamic world. He had a special attachment to Al-Jawhari's dictionary of which he prepared several editions and sold them at 100 dīnārs (£50) each.¹ Al-Juwainī, known as "the pride of copyists" (*Fakhrū'l-Kuttāb*), (d. 586 A.H.), was a famous calligraphist of Baghdād. His MSS. fetched handsome prices. According to Ibn Khallikān, he was an unequalled master of his time in Egypt.²

The writings of some of the calligraphists were so much appreciated and admired that, in spite of inaccuracies, their MSS. were greatly valued; of such was Ibn al-Qaṣṣār of Baghdād (d. 576 A.H.).³

The charges for copying depended on a beautiful hand and its accuracy and varied according to the quality of work, Aṣ-Ṣairafī charging one dirhem (6d.) per folio (2 pages).⁴ The Nestorian physician Bukhtishū' received one thousand dīnārs (£500) for 200 folios (400 pages). When Al-Farrā called the copyists for dictating his *Kitābu'l-Ma'āni*, they demanded one dirhem for 5 folios, but when he insisted on a lower rate, consented to write 10 pages for one dirhem.⁵ This goes to prove that in the 3rd century one dirhem for 5 pages was taken to be excessive at Baghdād. Sometimes accurate and finely

¹ *Ibn Khallikān*, II, p. 207.

² *Ibid.*, I, p. 144.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 344.

⁴ Yaqūt, *Irshād*, III, p. 84.

⁵ *Ibn Khallikān*, II, p. 228.

written MSS. were sold at high prices. The MSS. of Ibn Khurzād of Egypt, and a copy of the *Dīwān* of the Arabic poet Jarīr, written by him, fetched 10 dīnārs¹ (£5). The writings of Amīr al-Musabbīhī (d. 395 A.H.), being much appreciated, were remunerated at one pound for 50 folios.²

Stationery

Although stationery is also included in *warāqat*, we possess no information regarding it in the Arabic historical works. Of course we can gather certain details about the art of paper-making, but here we are not concerned with that. Paper was sold, as in our times, at the booksellers' shops. According to As-Sam'āni³ a stationer was called *kāghadī*, and still the same term is used for a stationer in Gujarāt and Kathiawar. We have no information about the different prices charged for different kinds of paper at that time. But it can easily be understood that, on account of the flourishing condition of the paper industry and the large consumption of paper, numerous shops for paper-selling must have been established, especially when we know that paper was manufactured in Islamic countries and paper-mills were erected in almost all the chief towns of the Muslim Empire. The art of manufacturing paper from rags was invented during the 'Abbāsid period.⁴

¹ *Ibn Khallikān*, II, p. 351.

² *Ansāb*, fol. 472.

³ *Ibid.*, I, p. 516.

⁴ *Fihrist*, p. 32.

Some scholars think the word *kaghid* to be of Chinese origin, and it was Chinese prisoners of war, brought to Samarqand after the battle of Atlakh, near Talas, who first introduced, in 134 A.H. (751 A.D.), the industry of paper-making from linen, flax or hemp or rags after the method of the Chinese.¹

At the end of the 3rd century, the only paper-mill was established in Transoxiana,² and afterwards there flourished paper-mills at Damascus,³ at Tripoli (Syria) and in Palestine.⁴ Notwithstanding this, Samarqand was the only centre of paper-manufacture from which people used to send for paper for their libraries. The well-known prose-writer and epistolographer Al-Khwārizmī jestingly excuses a friend for not writing on the ground that he lives a long distance from Samarqand and so finds paper too dear.⁵ This shows how dear paper was at places far from the centre where paper was manufactured. Ibn an-Nadīm has given the names of different kinds of paper then in vogue.⁶

Bookbinding

It will not be out of place here to speak briefly of the art of bookbinding. How refined was the taste of Muslims in regard to this art, can be

¹ *Encyclopædia of Islam* II, p. 626.

² *Istakhri*, p. 288.

³ *Maqdisi*, p. 180.

⁴ Nasir Khusraw, *Safar-Namah*, p. 11, (Bombay ed.)

⁵ Al-Khwārizmī, *Rasā'il*, p. 25.

⁶ 'Arib, *Aṣ-ṣilah*, p. 90, (Leiden.)

imagined from the precious leather-bound books referred to in Arabic chronicles.¹ Ibn an-Nadīm tells us that originally the bindings were very crude. Books were bound in leather, dressed in lime, which, by reason of the defective process, remained much too stiff and hard. At a later date, in Kūfa, a more effective way of dressing leather was invented. This was done by means of dates, with the result that the leather became softer and limper. Later, on, the art was much developed and much progress was made in ornamentation and illumination of leather-bound books. A European scholar, Sarre, has furnished a monograph on Islamic bookbinding which contains 36 coloured illustrations of Arabic and Persian bindings. These pictures look like the real thing and, taking them to be real, one touches them with his fingers. All the illustrations have been taken from the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

Art of Painting in gold and Illustrating

Along with the arts of calligraphy and book-binding, the art of painting in books also came into vogue. Gilding with gold and silver and binding of artistic designs was carried to perfection by the Muslim artists. There were some scholars who were expert in this art, like Abu 'Ubaidah, known

¹ *Fihrist*, p. 14.

as Ṭarsūnī (d. 730 A.H.), who, according to Suyūṭī, was an expert bookbinder and painter in gold.¹ As-Sam'ānī saw a MS. of the Qur'ān written by Abu Usāma, the ruler of the Syrian fortress Shaizar (5th century), in letters of gold on the Syrian mica, the like of which, he says, no human eye has ever seen.² Ibn an-Nadīm has given the names of some persons who were expert in gilding MSS. of the Qur'ān.³

As the portrayal of living beings was held to be forbidden in Islam, at first the labours of the Muslim artists were solely confined to painting flowery designs and lifeless things, but in course of time living beings were also painted. Yāqūt makes mention of a MS. of Bal'amī's *Suwaru'l-aqālīm* containing pictures, which he presented to Az-Zāhir, the son of Ṣalāḥu'd-Dīn and ruler of Ḥamāh.⁴ Even at the present day, we find hundreds of illustrated MSS. in the libraries of Europe and the Near East.⁵

Book-trade

Owing to the love of the Muslims for reading books, and their increasing popularity, the book-trade received a great impetus. Book-shops were established in every Muslim land. The manufacture of paper was a chief factor in the development of

¹ *Bughyā*, p. 51.

² *Ansāb*, fol. 346 and Yāqūt, II, p. 190.

³ *Fihrist*, p. 14.

⁴ Yāqūt, *Irshād*.

⁵ For an account of such illustrated books see the *Discourses of the Arabian Academy, Damascus*, Vol. I, p. 185.

the book-trade. In the 3rd century A.H., there were 300 book-shops at Bağhdād.¹ Maqrīzī writes of a book-market in his own time.² Al-Khaṭīb of Bağhdād, in the middle of the 4th century, refers to the book-market of Bağhdād which was in a flourishing condition, all the shops being full of books.³ These were in small shops in close proximity to each other and generally in the vicinity of a mosque. Books exposed for sale on trestles had a label on the back to facilitate the search for them.

Books were sold either privately or by auction. The auctioneer was called Munādī (crier).⁴ Most of the booksellers were men of learning and scholars like Abu Ḥātim Sahl b. Muḥammad As-Sijistānī, the lexicographer, Yāqūt (d. 620 A.H.) the geographer and others. The booksellers had their agents called *dallāl-u'l-kutub*⁵ who used to supply them with books; as, for instance, the poet al-Hazīrī (d. 586 A.H.), who owing to his profession was named Dallāl-ul-Kutub.⁶ Another *dallāl* or agent was Al-Wajīh b. Șurah (d. 607) in Egypt, who sat at the door of his house with books, and learned scholars used to come to him on Monday and Tuesday to purchase books from him.⁷

In this connection, it may be interesting to note that a blind scholar Zainu'd-Dīn al-Āmīdī of the

¹ Ya'qūbī, op. cit. Von Kremer.

² Maqrīzī, III, p. 165.

³ J.R.A.S. (1912), p. 71.

⁴ Bughya, p. 97.

⁵ Ibn Khallikān, I, p. 63.

⁶ Ibid., p. 203.

⁷ Ibid., p. 63.

8th century, was a book-dealer and knew the price of each book in his house. Whenever he bought any book, he made a coil of a paper, made figures according to the Abjad method, pasted it inside the book and putting a scrap of paper on it, he embossed it, so that the letters could be easily felt by hand. When he wanted to ascertain the price, he used to lay his hand on the embossed letters.¹

Although, owing to the extensive use of paper and a flourishing book-trade, the prices of books had comparatively gone down, yet these do not appear to have been very cheap. In the 5th century a copy of Ibn Duraid's *Jamhara* was sold at 60 dīnārs² (£30 or Rs. 425). The voluminous chronicles of Aṭ-Ṭabarī were bought for one hundred dīnārs³ (£50 or Rs. 700). The Omayyad poet Jarīr's dīwān was purchased for 10 dīnārs⁴ (£5 or Rs. 75). *Kitābu'l-'Ain* of Khalil b. Ahmad, which a book-seller brought from Khurāsān to the market of Baṣra, was sold at 50 dīnārs⁵ (£25 or Rs. 350). An Arabic translation of the commentary of *Acroasis* of Alexander Aphrodosias was bought for 100 dīnārs⁶ (£50 or Rs. 700). But, as the number of books and the scribes went on increasing, the price of books fell gradually. Syed Amir 'Ali,⁷ Miss Olga

¹ Ṣafadī, *Nakū'l Himyan*, pp. 207-208.

² Ibn Khallikān, I, p. 337.

³ Maqrīzī, I, p. 408.

⁴ Ibn Khallikan, II, p. 351.

⁵ Fihrist, p. 42.

⁶ Tabaqūtul-Āṭibba, I, pp. 69-70.

⁷ *History of the Saracens*, p. 460, new ed.

Pinto,¹ an Italian lady orientalist, and Dr. F. Krenkow, the learned Arabist, have deduced from Yāqūt's statements regarding the Ad-Damīriyah Library of Marv, whence he used to borrow books, that the average price of a book in the 'Abbāsid period was one dīnār. "My residence," says Yāqūt, "was never without 200 books, among them were books worth 200 dīnārs lent to me without any deposit."²

From this it is clear that Yāqūt used to retain books, many of them worth 200 dīnārs, not that the average price per book was one dīnār.

Sometimes, precious books were sold at low price, owing to the pecuniary circumstances of the seller. It is said of Avicenna that he had read Aristotle's work on metaphysics forty times and had learnt it by heart, and yet he was unable to comprehend it thoroughly. One evening he went to the booksellers' market, when a book-agent was putting a book up to auction. He requested Avicenna to buy it but he refused, thinking it a worthless book. 'It is dirt cheap,' insisted the auctioneer, 'and going to be sold at 3 dirhems (Re. 1-2-0) only, its owner being in urgent need of money.' At last the book was purchased and the buyer, to his utmost joy, found it to be the commentary of Al-

¹ *Islamic Libraries*, translated by F. Krenkow, *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 3. No. 2, p. 215.

² *Mu'jamu'l-Buldan*, IV, pp. 509-510.

Fārābī on the metaphysics of Aristotle, which solved his difficulties. For possessing such a useful book, he gave alms to the poor in gratitude to God.¹

Bookselling being a profitable business and books being sold at high prices, clever booksellers would demand a high price for the works of a well-known author, sometimes even charging an exorbitant price for an ordinary book by selling it under the name of some renowned author. Thus a bookseller once compiled a book of songs in the name of the celebrated musician Ishāq al-Mawsili, and sold it for a considerable sum.² Such tricks were often played in the book-markets. Counterfeit coins and forged documents were brought for sale in the market. Such frauds were not only common with the book-dealers ; the customers also were not backward in such tricks. It is related of a grammarian 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad al-Khashshāb, that, when selecting books from a lot on sale, he was accustomed to take advantage of the bookseller's inattention to tear the book, and then, alleging it to be incomplete, to purchase the incomplete portions at a nominal price.³ The booksellers of Baghdād Ibnu'l-Khazzār, Abū Bakr al-Qantārī and Abu Ḥusain al-Khurāsānī relate of Aṣ-Ṣairāfī, the Judge at Baghdād, that, on account of his poverty, whenever he wanted to sell any book, he used to get it copied by his pupils and wrote at the end of each MS. that he has collated

¹ *Tabaqāt-u'l-Āṭibbā*, II, pp. 3-4.

² *Fihrist*, p. 141.

³ *Bughyah*, p. 278.

it with the text and made corrections therein, his object being to draw more money for a correct text.¹

Book-shops as Literary Clubs

On account of the special importance attached to the booksellers' shops during that literary age, bookstalls were generally used as literary clubs, where scholars and savants used to assemble, and lively discussions were held on literary topics. The booksellers were not mere ordinary publishers, but men of talents and ability and most of them were famous authors. Book-shops were so much held in esteem that Al-Muhallibī, the Wazīr advised his son not to sit in any bazar except a book-market.² Maqrīzī has given verses of some poet who has expressed the same idea.³

The book-shops had become a rendezvous and place of recreation for the scholars. Yāqūt informs us about the shop of a certain bookseller, Sa'd, a litterateur, poet and prose-writer.⁴ It was the resort of scholars and men of letters. Yāqūt has also told us of a blind grammarian Abu'l-Ghanāim Ḥabashī b. Muḥammad (d. 568 A.H.), who, in spite of his blindness, constantly used to go at night into the book-market of Baghdād and continued to do so for twenty years.⁵ In the seventh century, a scholar Ibn

¹ Yāqūt, *Irshād*, II, p. 190.

² *Al-Fakhrī*, p. 3, (Cairo ed.)

³ Maqrīzī, III, pp. 125-126.

⁴ Yāqūt, II, p. 23.

⁵ Yāqūt, III, p. 3; Ṣafadi, *Nukt*, p. 134.

al-Qūn'e was accustomed to sit in the book-market of Damascus.¹ Ibn Jawzī (d. 597 A.H.), writing about the book-market of Baghdād, remarks that it is a resort of savants, scholars and poets.² Writing about the book-market of Old Cairo, the vestiges of which were seen till 780 A.H. in his own time, and which was afterwards transferred to Cairo, Maqrīzī says that it was a centre where learned men used to meet.³

To judge of the cultivation and development of the art of warāqat, one has only to imagine those public, private and royal libraries and the immense number of books scattered in mosques, madrasahs, khānqāhs, serais, hospitals and royal palaces, throughout the length and breadth of the Islamic Empire. I think no people have ever written, copied and collected so many books as the Muslims did during their halcyon days. Alas, that precious treasure of Arabic learning has largely disappeared. It was partly destroyed in the devastating invasion of the Tartars. Some of it was sunk by them in the waters of the Tigris ; some was committed to the flames by the brutal ignorance of the Crusaders, and some was destroyed or lost in the internecine wars of the Muslim princes. Notwithstanding this, splendid proofs of the literary labours of the sons of Islam are to be found in the libraries of the East and the West.

¹ *Bughyah*, p. 97.

² *Mandqib Baghdad*, p. 26.

³ *Maqrizi*, III, p. 125.

II

SA'DĪ'S VISIT TO SOMNĀTH¹

IN the long array of the Persian poets and men of letters Shaikh Sa'dī of Shirāz is too well known to need any introduction in the East and the West. His reputation as a poet and a writer on ethics has spread far and wide. His works, especially the *Gulistān* and the *Būstān*, have immortalised him as a master-mind for all ages, and are read with great interest, in the countries of the East and the West alike, through translation into different languages of the world.

That Sa'dī was a great traveller and an ardent adventurer is borne out by his own allusions scattered here and there in his above-named works. His extensive travels and dauntless wanderings through various countries of the world are sufficient to earn for him the title of a globe-trotter of his age. Among the host of Eastern travellers of the Middle Ages, Sa'dī stands foremost and can be compared with famous travellers like Mas'ūdī, Ibn Hawqal and Ibn Battūṭa, who have left accounts of their travels,

¹ Paper read at the Arabic-Persian Section of the Seventh Session of the Indian Oriental Conference, held at Baroda, on the 27th and 29th December, 1933.

while Sa'dī has left nothing of the sort ; otherwise he would have given us a good deal of information about the countries he visited during his peregrinations

In the course of his travels Sa'dī visited Khurāsān, Tartary, Balkh, Kāshghar, Ghazna, the Punjab, Som-nāth, Gujarāt, Yemen, the Hijāz and other parts of Arabia, Abyssinia, Palestine, Syria, especially Damascus and Baalbek, North Africa and Asia Minor, to which occasional references are made by him in his works.

According to Ḥamdullah Mustawfi¹ (who wrote only 40 years later), Sa'dī died in Shīrāz, his native place, at the age of 110 years in 690-91 A.H. (1291 A.D.). Dr. Ethe² divides his life into three periods :

(1) The period of his studies which lasted till 1226 A.D. and was spent chiefly at Baghdād.

(2) The period of his travels.

(3) The period of his retirement and composing works.

In the second period of his life Sa'dī went on his extensive travels from the year 1226 A.D., in which the disturbed condition of Fars led him to quit Shīrāz. He himself alludes to his departure from Shīrāz in the following poem in the preface to his Gulistān³ :

"O knowest thou why, an outcast and exile,

¹ *Tārikh-i-Gūzidah*, ed. Browne.

² *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 21, p. 143.

³ I have utilised the English version as quoted by Browne, Vol. II, p. 528.

In lands of the stranger a refuge I sought ?
 Disarranged was the world like the hairs of a
negro
 When I fled from the Turks and the terror
they brought.
 Though outwardly human, no wolf could
surpass them.
 In bloodthirsty rage or in sharpness of claw ;
 Though within was a man with the mien of an
angel,

Without was a host of the lions of war.

At peace was the land when again I beheld it
 E'en lions and leopards were wild but in name,
 Like that was my country what time I forsook it
 Fulfilled with confusion and terror and shame.
 Like this in the time of BŪ Bakr the Atābek
 I found it when back from my exile I came."

It must have been during these years of his travels from 1226 to 1256 that Sa'dī visited India. The precise date of his arrival in India cannot be accurately fixed, as there are no data to prove the exact time of his wanderings. Dr. Ethe has pointed out that in 1234 or 1235 Sa'dī proceeded *via Balkh*, Ghazna, and the Punjab to Gujarāt, on the western coast of which he visited the shrine of Sīwa in Pattan Somnāth. Presumably the route by which Sa'dī came to Somnāth was *via Balkh*, Ghazna, and the Punjab to Sind by land, and from Sind by sea to Somnāth which was the port of call at that time.

The remarkable adventure with which Sa'dī met at Somnāth is narrated by himself in a pretty long story in his *Būstān* which was composed in 655 A.H. The narration related in verse is given in the 8th chapter of his book, an English rendering of which is proposed to be given here below:¹

"I saw an idol of ivory at Somnāth, jewelled like the idol Manāt in pre-Islamic days. So beautifully had the sculptor chiselled it that a more beautiful work could not possibly have been prepared. People flocked thither in great numbers to see the face of that lifeless idol. The Kings of China and Chigil sought fidelity, like Sa'dī, from that stony-hearted image. From every spot orators came praying and imploring before that tongueless idol. I failed to fathom myself the mystery why a living being should pay his adoration to a lifeless statue. I timidly told the Brahman, with whom I had an acquaintance and who was a nice fellow, a roommate and a friend of mine, that the proceedings of that place had left me in wonder why people were so enamoured of this powerless idol. 'Surely they have fallen into the abyss of ignorance and superstition. The idol is unable to lift its hand and foot, and if thrown away it cannot get up by itself. Don't you see that its eyes are made of amber, and to seek fidelity from such a covetous-eyed miser would be a vain attempt.' On hearing this my friend (the

¹ For original text see Graf's edition of *Būstān*, p. 388.

Brahman) turned into a foe and in a furious rage caught hold of me. He created a commotion and called the Mughs (fire-worshippers) and the elders of the temple. Seeing no sign of safety in that assembly, I made amends and began loudly to praise the Brahman. I flattered him : 'O thou learned in the commentary of Avesta and Zend, to me also this idol is very fascinating as it has a beautiful and bewitching face ; but I am quite ignorant of its esoteric significance. As I desire conviction and, being a stranger, cannot distinguish good from bad, I request you to let me know what hidden truth there lies in this idol, after knowing which I shall be the first man among its devotees.'

"The Brahman's face beamed with joy. He liked my question and told me : 'O excellent speaker, your question is just and your intention the best, for one who seeks a guide is sure to reach his destination. There is no idol except this one which raises its hands towards God the Lord of the Universe, and if you like to see it you may stay here tonight and the secret will reveal itself to you tomorrow.' At the old man's behest I stayed over there for the whole night, like Bezhan imprisoned in the well of suffering. The night was long as a Judgment Day, and the Magians were praying around me without ablution. The priests touched no water and their armpits stank like corpses in the sun. The whole night I passed in painful torment with one

hand on the breast and the other lifted up in prayer. Suddenly the drummer beat his drum, the cock crew and gave warning of the Brahman's death.

"At dawn the foolish Magians with their un-washed faces thronged the convent emerging from every house and desert while no man or woman remained at home. The temple was so much over-crowded that no room was left for a needle. I was sitting, sad and gloomy, in a rage, with sleepless eyes, when I saw that the idol raised its arms, upon which there arose a clamour like the roaring of the ocean. When people departed from the temple the Brahman stared at me with a smile, signifying that my difficulty was solved. 'The truth,' he said, 'has come out and falsehood vanished.' Seeing that false delusion was firmly implanted in him I began to shed crocodile tears just to pretend that I repented for what I had said. The inmates of the temple gathered round me like servants and lifted me up by the hand with great veneration. Uttering excuses I approached the ivory statue, which was placed upon a throne of ebony plated with gold, and gave a kiss to its hand. May the curse fall upon the idol and all the idolators! I pretended to be an infidel, for a few days became a Brahman initiated into the discourse of Zend. I was much delighted to obtain intimacy in the temple. One night when the temple was empty I closed fast the doors of the temple and began to stroll left and right like a scorpion. While

I was observing above and beneath the dais I beheld a curtain of gold embroidery behind which sat the fire-worshipping Archbishop with a silken cord in his hand. The situation was at once revealed to me, and I was enlightened as to the pulling of the cord and raising the arms of the idol. The Brahman on my approach felt ashamed and fled. I followed him and flung him headlong into a well. If he were alive, I thought, he would surely spare no pains to slay me. So I dropped heavy stones upon the devil, killed him on the spot and thinking, 'Dead men tell no tales,' I hurried away from that spot and took my flight. Then I went to Hindustān, and by way of Yemen to Hijāz. Since the bitter experience of that unsavoury incident, my mouth was sweetened only today."

The credibility of this story has been called in question by oriental scholars like Shamsu'l-'Ulamā Mawlānā Hāli and Shiblī in their biography of the poet,¹ and also by Kramers in his notice of the poet in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*,² in which he remarks that the story has many intrinsic improbabilities. Mr. Henry Cousin has gone so far as to give this story the appellation of "a fairy-tale."³ On the other hand, scholars like Ethé and Browne, while referring to this story, do not express the slightest

¹ *Hayāt-i-Sa'dī* (Urdu), pp. 34-37, (2nd ed., Agra); Shi'rū'l-'Ajām, Vol. II, pp. 41-42.

² Vol. II, p. 37.

³ *Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. XLV, p. 21.

doubt as to its probability. The story has been noted down long ago by an orientalist as a historical piece of information. So Lieut. Kittoe has given a summarised translation of the story in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*.¹

Before I proceed to deal with the merits of this story, I am constrained to remark that nowhere does Sa'dī's own version support the truth of the assertion of Dr. Ethè² and Mr. Ross³ as to Sa'dī's breaking the idol into pieces. As far as I am aware there is only one source which makes mention of the breaking of the idol, and that is Jāmī, who says: "Sa'dī broke the big idol of the Hindus in the temple of Somnāth."⁴

Now, as doubted by the oriental scholars, the question is how an access was possible for an unknown stranger, as Sa'dī was, into a Hindu sanctuary; and also how it was possible for him to stay in it when a large number of devotees and attendants poured in for daily worship. Moreover, what was the object of the priest in sitting behind the curtain at such a late hour when none was present there except Sa'dī? These are questions which have been advanced by both the scholars Ḥālī and Shiblī; but it is singular to notice that, although both of them

¹ Vol. VII, p. 865 (1838).

² *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 21.

³ English translation of *Gulistān*, p. 12. (Eastwick).

⁴ *Nafḥātu'l- Uns*, pp. 541-542, (Nawalkishore ed.).

are apparently prone to dispose of the contents of the story as improbable, they do not seem prepared wholly to disbelieve the truth of the incident. The learned author of *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam* after making a few remarks, goes on to say :

" Sa'dī was after all a foreigner and a newcomer and could not have observed anything in its true perspective, as is usually the case with European tourists, who, after their short stay in India, write down superficially in their travels and Indians on their perusal are at a loss to understand of what country's romance they are reading."¹

The learned Mawlānā Ḥālī also has, with much zeal, endeavoured to explain away the dubious nature of this story in true oriental fashion. " It is better," he says, " to blame Sa'dī's inability to give a fuller and vivid description of his adventures than to impeach the truth of his narrative." In fact the story in verse has not been fully expounded by Sa'dī because strict adherence to metre and rhyme often renders it difficult, and sometimes the poet is spontaneously driven to some other end than what he has in view. Those who are well acquainted with Persian literature will testify with me how difficult or rather impossible it is in poetry to give the exact details of an event while indulging in rhetorical figures of speech and at the same time

¹ *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, Vol. II, pp. 41-42.

observing the epigrammatic rules of prosody. However, this explanation seems plausible, when we see that here Sa'dī's object is not to give sober history but simply to narrate in a poetic manner one of the memorable incidents of his life.

Another difficulty which confronts us in this connection is Sa'dī's use of religious terms. This forms the subject of criticism by Mawlānā Shiblī. Ādhār, Mugh, Gabr, Zend, Avesta, Pāzend, Maṭrān, Kishīsh, are in fact terms to be ascribed more to the Magians or Zoroastrians than to the Brahmans or Hindus. This has led a Parsi writer, Mr. R. P. Karkaria, to think that "Sa'dī never saw the temple or the idol, for most strangely he calls it a temple of Guebres or Parsis, who, as is well known, have no image whatever in their place of worship."¹ But a moment's consideration will bring home the conviction that, being a foreigner and unfamiliar with the religious terms of the Hindus, Sa'dī, who during his brief sojourn at Somnāth could only remember the word "Brahman," while writing his *Būstān* after a lapse of time, is little expected to remember the appropriate terms for the names he has given as equivalent to those of the Hindu terms. Let us also assume that in spite of his knowledge of the said terms he could not have used them with reason so as to enable his readers to understand him fully and at the same time adhere to rules of poetry.

¹ J.R.A.S., Vol. XIX, p. 150, (1895).

It is interesting to note that Prof. Browne, while believing in the genuineness of the story, expresses his astonishment at the ignorance of a man of Sa'dī's light and learning, of the observances of other religions. He remarks :

"It is astonishing how little even well educated Muslims know about other religions. Sa'dī, for all his wide reading and extensive travels, cannot tell a story about a Hindu idol-temple without mixing up with it references as to Zoroastrian and even Christian observances."¹

The above remark of Prof. Browne holds good more in case of most of the European Orientalists than of the Muslim writers; but here we are not concerned with it in the least.

Recently, a European scholar, Mr. Reuben Levy, Reader in Persian in the University of Cambridge, while writing about Sa'dī's adventure at Somnāth, after speculating on the apocryphal character of the story, is prompted to believe at least in Sa'dī's visit to India. He writes :

"Absurd errors, such as confusion of Brahmins with fire-worshippers, are not lacking in the story, and it is possible that Sa'dī sees himself in the rôle of hero in some story which he has heard ; or it may be merely that he has embroidered some incident which actually occurred. There is no reason to deny, as some have done,

¹ *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II, p. 529.

that he went to India, where he seems to have visited both the Punjab and the Gujarāt."¹

However, looking to the above circumstances, I believe this story will not seem incredible on account of its "intrinsic improbabilities."

Mawlānā Shibli's remark regarding the impurity of ivory among Hindus, and therefore the impossibility of an idol being made of ivory, is not well-founded. Although the Jainas, as I have been given to understand, mostly refrain from using ivory on account of its being the tooth of an animal, yet it is generally used by Hindus for their ornaments. My learned friend Mawlānā Abu Zafar Nadwī has informed me that there is an idol made of ivory in one of the temples of Benares. An argument can also be advanced that Sa'dī's mind simply took in the white colour of the idol and he mistook it for ivory.

Here it must be made clear that the name Somnāth has been mostly responsible for disbelief in Sa'dī's account, as it is a well-known fact that Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī had devastated this temple 200 years before Sa'dī's visit to Somnāth, and that there was no such idol as described by Sa'dī in the said temple. The idol, or image, or *but*, whatever it may have been called by the historians, was undoubtedly the *lingam* of Mahādevā or the phallic representation of the god Siwā, which was a

¹ *Stories from Sa'dī's Bustān and Gulistān*, Introduction, XIV.

columnnar emblem as stated by a contemporaneous writer, the learned Al-Bīrūnī ;¹ and even after the fall of Somnāth (or " lord of the moon ") the temple was soon reconstructed and must have remained intact in Sa'dī's time, till it underwent a second visitation at the hands of 'Alā'u'd-dīn's forces in 1300 A.D., nine years after Sa'dī's death. But here the name Somnāth, as used by Sa'dī, does not apply to the temple but to the city itself which to this day is called Somnāth Pattan. Marco Polo, writing as early as Sa'dī, describes Semnāt or Somnāt . . . as " a kingdom in the West, the inhabitants of which are cruel idolaters."² Amin-i-Rāzī, the author of a geographical work in Persian, writes about Somnāth as being a city situated on the coast of the Arabian Sea and a place of many golden idols.³ Thus it is quite obvious that in Sa'dī's story Somnāth means the town of Prabhas Pattan, which is at present one of the Mahals of the Junāgadh State.

As to the site of the original temple, referred to by Sa'dī, no identification is possible after a lapse of seven centuries, in course of which many changes may have taken place. However, according to the local tradition, the site of the temple is shown at Pattan in the north-east of the city outside the gate (Chhotā Darwāza) beyond some quarries in the vicinity of the

¹ *India*, Vol. II, p. 103.

² *Travels of Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 389. (Yule's ed.)

³ *Haft Iqlim*, p. 90 (Asiatic Society ed.)

Khānqāh of Sayyid 'Abdī Shāh Machhu Miān. (Ranchhodji's *Tārīkh-i-Sorath* edited by Burgess, p. 74). The precincts of the Old Surya Narayan temple, as it now stands, suggest the possibility of its being one which Sa'dī might have entered. There is a cellular cave beneath it and in the close vicinity there is also a well, which may have been the one in which the priest was killed. This is all a matter of conjecture and presumption.

How long Sa'dī might have sojourned at Somnāth Pattan it is difficult to tell, but the clue furnished in the story leads us to presume that he must have stayed there for about a month or so in order to be trusted by the priests and to complete his adventure.

After this unhappy incident Sa'dī, as he tells us, left Somnāth for Hindustan and from there he went *via* Yemen to Hijāz. This has led some scholars, like Ethe, Hālī and Shibli, to think that¹ Sa'dī went to Delhi. Ethe and Eastwick have gone even so far as to assert that he made a prolonged stay there and that he acquired knowledge of Hindustani, which afterwards he turned into account in several of his poems. It was asserted long ago by a French Orientalist, Garcin de Tassy,² that the celebrated author of *Gulistān* has written Rekhta verses. This view is erroneous, and has already been refuted by

¹ Preface to *Gulistān*, p. xi (Trubners ed.)

² *Journal Asiatique*, IV, Series, Vol. I, p. 1 and Vol. II, p. 361

Dr. Sprenger.¹

As stated by Ethe and Shibli, Sa'dī's visit to (Hindustan) Delhi and his prolonged stay there is not supported by any evidence. This is probably suggested by the name "Hindustan." But it must not be forgotten that according to Arab Geographers, India was divided into two parts : Sind and Hind. Excepting the country of Sind, the whole of India was termed Hind or Hindustan. The second plea put forth by his biographers in support of this contention is Sa'dī's presence at the Serāi Aghlamish, as mentioned in one of the stories of *Gulistān*,² which Mawlānā Ḥālī supposes to be the corruption of Altumish, the Pathan king of Delhi.³ But this is not right, as Aghlamish has been authentically proved by my learned friend Sayyid Sulaimān Nadwī,⁴ on the authority of Ibnu'l-Athīr to be that slave of the ruler of Ādharbāijān who became a ruler of Raiy and Ispahān in 612 A.H.

Therefore it would be right to assume that Sa'dī went from Somnāth by sea to Cambay (or Khambhāt)

¹ J.A.S.B., Vol. XXI, p. 513 (1852) : "The assertion rested on a passage in the *Tadhkīrah* of Qāyim, which was compiled in A.H. 1168 and is called *Makhzan-i-Nukāt*. But Gurdezy, who wrote a *Tadhkīrah* in 1165, three years before Qāyim, most emphatically contradicts this assertion which in those days seems to have been popular and points out the true author of the verses ascribed to Sa'dī of Shiraz. After these two *Tadhkīrahs* had been compiled, Mīr Taqī and Shorish wrote short biographies of Rekhta poets and both contradict the statement."

² Eastwick's translation, p. 31.

³ *Hayāt-i-Sa'dī*, p. 29.

⁴ *Ma'ārif* (Azamgarh), Vol. XXXI, No. 2, pp. 127-129.

which was at that time a big port of landing for the foreign travellers coming to India by sea, and, after touring in some parts of Gujarāt, sailed from the same port *via* Yemen to Hijāz.

A tradition is current among the people of Gujarāt about Sa'dī's visit in that country which, though legendary, may be interesting to quote here. While touring in Gujarāt, he came across a gentleman who had heard of Sa'dī's reputation and, taking him to be a Persian, addressed him in the Persian tongue :

"Where are you coming from ?" he enquired.

"From the sacred land of Shīrāz," was the reply.

"Do you remember Sa'dī's poetry ?" the gentleman inquired.

Whereupon Sa'dī recited extempore the following couplet :

سعدی تو جوهری و کلام تو جوهر اند

ارزان چنان فروش که گجراتیان خر اند

"O Sa'dī, thou art a jeweller and thy verses are jewels,

Sell them so cheap that the people of Gujarāt may buy them."

Here is a pun on the word *khar-and* which also means that they are donkeys.

III

A TRACT OF AVICENNA

Translated by 'Umar Khayyām

DURING my recent stay at Ahmādābād, I was able to lay my hand on a MS. collection of Arabic and Persian tracts in the library of the Dargāh of Pīr Muḥammad Shāh,¹ comprising ten treatises by different authors including a small Persian tract by 'Umar Khayyām. Happily we are in possession of one more literary relic of Khayyām—a translation in Persian of Avicenna's Arabic *Khuṭbah* or Address, of which no mention has hitherto been made by any scholar writing about 'Umar and his works ; nor does it find a place in the supplement to the recent erudite dissertation on Khayyām in Urdu.²

The first treatise in this collection is of Avicenna, followed by the original text of his Arabic *Khuṭbah* and the Persian translation thereof by

¹ *Fan.*, 14, No. 45. This library, attached to the shrine of the family Saint of the Sunnī Bohras of Gujarāt, contains a fine collection of Arabic and Persian MSS. and printed books.

² *Khayyām*, by Sayyid Sulaimān Nadwi, Ma'rif Press, Ā'zamgarh, 1934. This work throws a flood of light on moot questions relating to the life and works of the savant. The learned author has appended, by way of supplement, a collection of Arabic and Persian treatises of 'Umar reproduced from a printed collection *Jāmi'u'l-Badā'yī* and other MSS.

Khayyām which, compared with the original, does not seem to be a literal translation, but an explanatory paraphrase. The Arabic text, being full of philosophical terms, and on account of the scientific treatment of its subject-matter, is quite incomprehensible to the general reader, and 'Umar was the best qualified person to render it into Persian.

In the prologue the translator gives in Arabic the reason for his rendering into Persian the Khuṭbah of the renowned philosopher of Islam. He says :

"In the year 472 a party of my friends at Isfahān requested me to translate the Khuṭbah composed by Ash-Shaikhu'r-Ra'is Abu 'Alī b. Sīnā (may his secret be sanctified). I responded to their request and say that . . . "

Then follows the Persian translation, the original whereof we propose to reproduce in Appendix I. The original text of the Arabic Khuṭbah is also given in Appendix II, for comparison.

The Khuṭbah or sermon is a sort of Address or Invocation to God, dilating upon the arguments regarding His existence, unity, grandeur, eternity and omnipotence. It is replete with philosophical speculations and metaphysical observations. Here is another specimen of 'Umar's Persian prose which bears a similarity in style and the peculiarity of its diction to that of his already printed Persian treatises.

That Khayyām had profound reverence and deep

veneration for his predecessor Avicenna, is evident from his own writings where he mentions the latter as his teacher and master;¹ and although Avicenna had passed away (in 428 A.H.) long before Khayyām was born, yet it can easily be concluded that the latter perused diligently his works and took him as a guide and preceptor in his philosophical pursuits. Therefore it was in the fitness of things that Khayyām's friends approached him for translation of Avicenna's sermon.

As to Khayyām's presence at Isfahān in the year 472, it is a well-established fact that he was employed, with other astronomers, in connection with the construction of the observatory founded at Isfahān by Malik Shāh the Seljūq ruler, the erection of the said observatory having been commenced in 467 and completed in 471 A.H., as we are told by the Arab historian.²

According to the latest researches the date of Khayyām's birth has been placed in the year 440-41, and in the year 472 his age was 31-32, when he rendered the Khuṭbah. Therefore it does not seem impossible, nay improbable, that he obliged his friends by acceding to their wishes.

As to the genuineness of the present MS. fortunately we are in a position to decide, as the MS. at

¹ درسه وجود و الكيف in *Jāmi'u'l-Badāy'i*, (Cairo ed.), p. 170 ;
Brit. Mus. MS.

² *Ibn Athir*, Vol. II, p. 34.

the end of the book مِعَادٌ ، مَعَادٌ states the transcription to have been completed at the end of the month of Rajab, 705 A.H. The gentleman in possession of this MS. gives his name as follows on the margin in red ink :

من عوادی الزمان عندي وانا العبد الراجی عبد القادر الا ردو با دی
Although the name of the scribe or copyist does not occur therein, yet in the circumstances there is no reason to doubt its authenticity.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE ARABIC TEXT
OF IBN SINA

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

Holy is God, the Dominant Lord and Subduer, whom the eyes cannot perceive, nor the intellect conceive. He is not a (1) SUBSTANCE, susceptible of receiving contraries, nor an Accident, to be preceded by the existence of a SUBSTANCE. He cannot be defined by (2) QUALITY, to resemble anything ; nor by (3) QUANTITY, to be measured and divided. He is not to be qualified by a (4) RELATION, to conceal it in His all-comprehensive existence ; nor to (5) SPACE, to be encompassed and enclosed. He is not terminable by (6) TIME, so as to be carried from one period to another ; nor has He (7) POSITION, acquiring different figures by limits and extremities. Nor is He defined by (8) CONDITION (POSSESSION or HABIT), brought to bear upon Him ; nor by (9) PASSION, so as to change His active existence

(in PASSIVITY). He is not to be attributed to (10) ACTION, except Creation (by Order).¹ He is beyond the location of TIME transcendentally. TIME—from the (creation) of the remotest spaces (i.e., highest heaven) down to the (creation) of the lowest elements (i.e., the earth)²—owes its existence to Him, and by Motion becomes “before” or “after,” owing to which the existence of a body is constantly changing. The Duration (or Eternity) is the receptacle of the time of the body, and its creators (i.e., angels) are in relation to the variation of its periods. SPACE came into being after TIME, surrounded by the First Causes of Time (i.e., heaven) in limitation. He is One who is indivisible in number and limit. He is One who has no parallel nor contrary. He is One in Essence, Attributes, Word and Number. He is the Subduer who makes Non-Existence to acquire Existence. The Dominant, neither by way of potentiality, nor by way of actuality or perfection. The Powerful with infinite power in strength; whereas Number and Time are imposed upon the subject (to His power). His judgment has provided for every object the causes of its action. His mercy has guided everything to attain its perfection. The Divine

¹ Nos. 1 to 10 are the Ten Categories of Aristotle (*vide al-Khwārizmī's Mafātiḥu'l-'Ulūm*, pp. 86-88.)

² According to Muslim thinkers Creation is of two kinds :

(i) *Ibdā'* or creation by Order, just as God ordered to 'be' and it 'became.' (ii) *Ihdāth* or Creation by Evolution, the first Cause having been created by God.—Tr.

Essence from whom every being receives its existence, and all beings are arranged according to His predestined and defined arrangement. It is not in the nature of Plurality to exist jointly, nor it is in the power of a body to bring forth a creator from itself, for every creator (by Order) (*i.e.*, angel) is a Necessary Existent through His Existence and His Existence is possible in the limit of His own Self, from which the Spiritual Substances, non-spatial and non-periodical, are made manifest. These (Spiritual Substances) were made free from Matter and devoid of energy and aptitude. God shone over them so that they became illuminated, and He irradiated them so that they became resplendent. He then infused into their forms His own similitude and made them to display His actions. Thus each of them had, from the very beginning, the existence of an angel through whom He brought the heavens into being. Through their agency He created (by Order) divine bodies, comprising most of the luminous bodies, whose figures (constellations) are excellent in their motion which is circular, and their colours are most beautiful, that is bright and shining. Their constellations are the best because of having no contraries, as well as being immune from change and corruption. Above the heavens there are two spheres : One of the Equinox and the other of the Zodiac. If the heavens were without stars, there would not have been change of Time, efficacious for the growth of

animals and plants. Similarly had there been all stars without heaven, the lights would have vanished and with them the causes of existence and annihilation. Had not the (Zodiacal) Sphere been "inclined" towards the Sphere of Equinox, the seasons would have been equal and the state of surroundings and environments would have been monotonous. Thou Holy (God), the possessor of infinite power, whose bounty has left nothing out of it while granting existence! It is impossible that an infinite being can exist jointly, as it can only exist separately and not in company with others. So Thou didst create (by Order) the Primal Matter possessing infinite power in Passivity, inasmuch as Thou possessest power in Activity. Thou didst know that Generation and Corruption are effected by means, which are contracting and expanding, susceptible of receiving (impression) and controlling corruption. Hence Thou createdst Heat expanding in its essence, Cold contracting in its qualities, Moisture for producing and moulding of bodies, Dryness for preserving the bodies from being decomposed. From these (humours) Thou createdst the primal elements, and the hottest of them has stationed on the higher space (*i.e.*, the heavens) which, were it Cold, would have been heated by the heavenly motion and no being had remained but perished, on account of the Heat spread over all the elements in potentiality and space. Thou createdst the higher (heavenly) elements (*i.e.*,

Fire, Air, Water) naturally transparent, otherwise no luminous ray could have passed through them. Thou didst create the Earth dust-coloured, otherwise the light, which is the cause of the Instinctive Heat, active in creating physical forms, would not have paused over it (but would have passed through). So Thou createdst from the Earth, Minerals, Vegetables, and Animals of different kinds, which became generator and corruptor, begetter and begotten. The principal object in this (process) was the creation of Man, from whose residues Thou createdst all beings, so that no being may be deprived of its elements and one being may not be weakened by another negative (being). Thou didst create Man possessing an intelligent Soul, which, if purified through knowledge and good deeds, becomes like the Substances of the First Causes (*i.e.*, angels). Whenever the temperament of Man is equable and without contraries, it becomes like the 'Seven strong Heavens'; and whenever it is devoid of the receiving forms (*i.e.*, Matter) it resembles the First Causes (*i.e.*, angels). Thou Sustainer and Lord of our lords ! We desire Thee, pray and fast for Thee. Thou art the First Origin. From Thee we ask for succour and warning to guarding us against our negligence, and guide us in our doubts, as Thou art the perfecter and originator of these (doubts). Praise be to God who alone is deserving of it ! And His blessings be upon His messenger Muḥammad, best of all

His creatures, and on all his companions.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF KHAYYĀM'S
PERSIAN RENDERING

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

In the year 472 A.H. a party of my friends at Iṣfahān requested me to translate the Khuṭbah composed by Ash-Shaikhhu'r-Ra'is Abu 'Alī b. Sīnā, (may his secret be sanctified). I responded to their request and I say :

Thou Holy, the Subduer and the Dominant Lord, from whom all things emanate, and to whom they return and terminate. He is not (1) Substance, changeable by admitting of a Contrary.¹ [It must be known that every Substance, like angels and heavenly bodies, does not admit of a Contrary, unlike the forms of the Substance, which do admit of Contraries. This is a Rhetorical assertion,² useful in judging an affirmative proposition. God is not a Substance and not liable to occupy any position which other objects may do in common. He does not belong to any *genus*, because there is no plurality in His Self ; neither intellectually, so as to make the limit of His essence plural by Him, like the limit of

¹ Things are styled contraries, some as having such things in possession, and some as being recipient of such things. (See Aristotle's *Metaphysics* translated by Rev. John H. M'Mahon, p. 130.)

² In Rhetorics the mind of the hearer comprehends a thing by an assertion which is held reliable without any argument. See Khwārizmī's Mafātiḥu'l-'Ulūm, pp. 90-91, (Cairo ed.)

whiteness in colour, and quality ; nor (physically) in the composition of parts, like that of a body in matter and form. The names and meanings attributed to God and other things, like ' Exist' and ' Necessary,' are adjectives and relative concomitants which do not constitute plurality, like so many relative and negative names ; and were the causes of the divine essence plural, there would have been an infinite host of adjectives for every being, which is impossible.]¹ He is not Accident to be preceded by Substance. He is neither to be defined by (2) Quantity to be measured and divided, nor by (3) Quality to resemble anything. Nor is He to be qualified by (4) Relation. [God Himself is the real Correlative, because everything has its inception from and termination in Him. He is related to all things in such a relation as does not constitute plurality. Hence this great man (Avicenna) says that He is not relative and nothing is related to Him.] He is not to be qualified by (5) Space, to be confined thereby, nor by (6) Time, to be carried from one period to another. He is not to be qualified by (7) Position, so as to assume different shapes and to have limits. He is not to be defined by (8) Possession, so as to possess anything. [This word *Jiddat* or possession, technically denotes

¹ The comments of Khayyām have been given in parenthesis so as to differentiate them from the text. A slight difference will be found here and there in Khayyām's version while interpreting the sense of the original.

possessing things, like dress, arms, shoes, rings, etc., which is included in all or some of the Substances and movable with their motion. Nothing could be an exception to such possession, and no other interpretations of it would be acceptable.] (9) Passion is not to be attributed to God, but (10) Action, *i.e.*, Creation (by Order).¹ [It is to be remembered that the righteous creed is this, that all things are created by God, either by Order, *i.e.*, creation without time, or by Evolution, *i.e.*, creation within time.] Here, by the former is meant direct emanation from God without the agency of motion. He is beyond the location of time and motion. Time owes its existence to Him and is coherent with physical objects, from the heaven of heavens down to the centre of the earth. Time is the quantity of motion of the highest heaven and is measured by being prior or subsequent. [The transformation or generation and corruption of these *corpora infima* is due to the heavenly motion. Duration (or Eternity) is the receptacle of Time which encompasses the whole of it.] The relation of the Duration (or Eternity) with the angels is in Time, [parts of Time and periods, as they are eternal and unchangeable.] Space follows Time (in sequence), [the heaven being its place, as there exists nothing beyond heaven, Vacuum or Plenum either]. He is One who is immeasurable

¹ Nos. 1 to 10 are the *Maqālāt-al-Ash'ar* or Ten Aristotelian Categories. (See *Khwārizmī's Mafātiḥu'l-Ulūm*, pp. 86-88, (Cairo ed.)

and indivisible, unparalleled and admitting of no Contrary. He is One in Essence, Attributes, Word and Number. He is the Subduer who strengthens Non-Existence by Existence. He is the Dominant who brings potentiality into actuality and makes possibility necessity. His power is infinite in strength, rigidity and intensity, [which preserves some of the living beings up to infinite time and some to live up to a certain period], as number and period are for those subject to his power. His judgment has arranged all beings in the most excellent organization. His Mercy has guided all beings towards the attainment of their perfection. [It is impossible to bring into being infinite objects in number at a time (jointly), likewise it is impossible that a body could be brought into existence directly without the divine agency, because body is composed of matter and form], and in the divine essence there is no plurality. So a Plurality cannot proceed indirectly from a Unity, except the angels who are possible of existence in the limit of their own essence. [Therefore they are all plural because intellectually they are diametrically opposite from each other, but they are all simple (uncompound) in their existence and individual in essence, coming out of the creation by God.] The existence of the Spiritual Substances is non-spatial and non-periodical, as they are simply forms without any connection or intercourse with matter, and are meaningless

[yet all of them are simple and eternal and have become sublime by the divine intercourse]. God infused the similitude of His Necessary Existence into their nature, which is made manifest by His actions. Thus each of them, with their Necessary Existence, acquired from God, had the agency of the angels. So the heavens were brought into being with godly and luminous bodies, whose figures (constellations) are the best in their motion which is circular, and display beautiful colours which are bright and shining. Their figures are the most excellent of figures and have no parallel nor contrary. [Be it known that any heavenly body, that makes a lateral motion, belongs to a specific kind in which no other body, beside it, could reside or be generated and corrupted.] On the highest heaven there are two spheres ; one of the Equinox and the other of the Zodiac ; and had there been all stars without heavens, the intensity of light would have destroyed the causes of Generation and Corruption. And had the Zodiacal Sphere been not " inclined " towards the Equinoctial Sphere, the state of the whole Cosmos would have been monotonous, without any formation or organization. Thou Holy God, since the potentiality is infinite, Thy bounty has left nothing in bringing it into actuality. It is impossible for an infinite thing to exist at a time, except individually. So Thou createdst (by Order) the Primal Matter possessing infinite power inasmuch

as Thou possessest power in activity. Thou hast power over subjection by which an agent, in spite of its natural instinct to defy the existence of a thing, is subjected to bring it into existence. So Thou createdst Heat growing (*i.e.*, expanding), Cold contracting, Moisture receiving (*i.e.*, moulding) and Dryness composing. And from these four Humours Thou createdst (**Four**) Elements : the Fire, the Air, the Water and the Earth. The hottest of them Thou hast installed on the higher (plane), because if there were Cold it would be heated by the motion of the heaven and everything would have perished in potentiality and space, on account of the excessive heat on the other elements. These three higher elements Thou hast created colourless (*i.e.*, transparent) otherwise the ray could not have passed through them. [It must be known that this is a Hypothetical Proposition, because a ray is untransferable and impenetrable through any object, save when an illumined body is in contact with the light-receiving body and between them there is some colourless (*i.e.*, transparent) object, so that the light-receiving body receives the light and God creates light into it. Human intellect cannot fathom the reason of this proposition.] Thou hast given colour to the Earth between white and black, so as to make it the recipient of light and so become hot by the Instinctive Heat which is the cause of bringing

the physical forms into being. Thou didst create so many compound elements from Minerals, Vegetables, Animals and Human beings, [and Thou didst assign a stage to each of them in sublimity and degradation]. The object of creating these elements was the creation of Man and from his residue Thou createdst other things, so that no being should perish from any negative (being), and all beings may have their due share. [It is to be borne in mind that God hath no need or object in creating anything, as need would imply imperfection of its subject, whereas need itself is benefited by His divine essence, nay all beings are necessary existence in relation to His divine essence. Any one being is no better than any other in its existence, but they are all of one quality according to their organization, integrity, excellence and perfection, as nothing could be better than themselves in their species, except in the continuum of the System of Cosmogony, in which anything the least in touch with God is more sublime, contrary to the Eschatological System in which the Primal Matter is more sublime inasmuch as it is in touch with the deity. Thus it is obvious that all the beings, in their species, are equal and the differentiation of sublimity or degradation does not affect them ; so to say that one is not superior to the other.] Thou hast given to men an Intelligent Soul which, if purified by knowledge and good deeds, becomes like angels [and gains the highest

reward]. When the temperament of mankind is equable and receives no contrary, it becomes like the heavenly bodies [in receiving the Intelligent Soul] ; and when it is immune from matter it becomes like angels [in the perception of Intellectuals and in simplicity (uncompoundedness) which makes the human life immortal]. O Thou our Lord, the Creator and Lord and Creator of the First Cause, we desire Thee, we adore Thee, we demand from Thee and rely upon Thee, as the beginning of everything has emanated from Thee and everything is to return unto Thee.

APPENDIX I

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

قال الشيخ الفاضل والحكيم الكامل ابو الفتح عمر ابن الخطاب لقد استدعي مني جماعة من الاخوان باصفهان في سنة اثنين وسبعين واربعمائة ترجمة الخطبة التي انشاها الشيخ الرئيس ابو على بن سينا قدس سره فاجتبهم الى ذلك واقول -

پاکا پادشاها، دادار و ایزد کامگار- خداوندی که آغاز هه چیزها از وست، و باز گشت و انجام هه چیزها بدوسن- و ایزد جل جلاله جوهر نیست که بپذیرفتن اضداد متغیر گردد- باید دانست که نه هر جوهری ضد پذیر باشد (2. p) چون ملایک و چون اجرام سماء‌ی، بل چون صور که صور جوهرند و اضداد پذیرند- ولكن این مخن خطا بیست، [On the margin] ای مفید للتصدیق الخبر الحازم] که این بزرگ میگوید- و ایزد جل جلاله جوهر نیست که نشاید وضعی ویا و دیگر چیزها را بود باشترالک- وی زیر هیچ جنس نبود زیرا که در ذات او تکثر نیست، نه با اعتبار عقلی که حد ذات او بدو متکثر شود، چون حد بیاض بلونیة و کیفیة، و نه نیز برکیب اجراء چون جسم بیاده و صوره- و این اسماء و معانی که بر ایزد اطلاق کنند

و بـو غـير او چـون مـوجود وـواجب اوـصـافـيـسـت لـواـزـم اـعـتـبارـيـ كـه
 تـكـثـر بـدـو حـاـصـل تـشـود چـون اـكـثـر اـسـماء اـضـافـي وـسـلـيـ كـه اـكـثـر سـبـبـيـ
 ذاتـ مـتـكـثـر شـدـي لـازـم آـمـدـيـ كـه هـر مـوجـودـي دـا اوـصـافـبـسـيـارـ
 بـوـدـيـ نـامـتـناـهـيـ وـاـينـ مـحـالـ باـشـدـ. وـ عـرـضـ نـيـسـتـ كـه وـجـودـ جـوـهـرـ
 پـيـشـ اـزـ وجـودـويـ باـشـدـ. وـ بـكـمـ اـشـ وـصـفـ نـكـنـنـدـ كـه تـقـديـرـ پـذـيرـ شـودـ
 وـ اوـرـاـ اـبـرـزاـ باـشـدـ، وـ نـهـ بـكـيفـ تـاـ مـانـنـدـهـ شـودـ. نـهـ بـهـضـافـ كـه اـيـزـ دـاـ
 بـوـيـ وـصـفـ تـشـابـيدـ كـرـدـ. مضـافـ حـقـيقـيـ استـ زـيـراـ كـه هـمـ چـيزـهاـ دـاـ
 آـغاـزـ وـانـجـامـ اـزـوـسـتـ، وـ وـيـ رـاـ بـهـمـهـ چـيزـهاـ اـضـافـتـ. آـنـ اـضـافـتـ
 كـه بـسـبـبـ دـيـ (p. 8) تـكـثـر لـازـمـ نـيـاـيدـ. وـاـيـ بـزـرـگـ چـينـ مـيـكـوـيـدـ
 كـه اوـزـ مـقـولـهـ مضـافـ نـيـسـتـ وـ آـنـكـهـ بـدـوـ اـضـافـتـ نـيـاـشـدـ. وـ بـكـجـائـيـ اـشـ
 وـصـفـ نـكـنـنـدـ تـاـ مـحـاطـ باـشـدـ. وـ بـكـيـشـ باـزـ بـنـدـنـدـ، تـاـ اـزـ مـدـقـيـ بهـ مـدـقـيـ
 اـنـتـقـالـ كـنـدـ. وـ نـهـ بـنـهـادـ وـ وـضـعـ تـاهـيـتـ مـخـتـلـفـ بـرـوـيـ درـآـيدـ وـ حدـودـشـ
 باـشـدـ، وـ نـهـ بـهـ جـدـهـ كـه چـيزـيـ بـرـوـيـ شـامـلـ گـرـدـ. وـ اـينـ مـقـولـهـ جـدـهـ
 بـزـدـيـكـ خـواـصـ صـنـاعـتـ چـونـ جـامـهـ پـوشـيـدـنـ وـ سـلاحـ وـ نـعلـ وـ خـاتـمـ
 دـاشـتـنـ بـوـدـكـهـ بـرـ كـلـ جـوـهـرـيـ يـاـ بـرـ بـعـضـيـ اـزـوـيـ شـامـلـ گـرـدـ وـ بـحـرـكـةـ
 آـنـ جـوـهـرـ مـتـقـلـ گـرـدـ. وـ اـكـرـ بـقـولـهـ جـدـهـ چـيزـيـ خـواـهـنـدـ كـهـ عـامـ اـزـينـ
 باـشـدـ وـ تـكـلـفـيـ نـكـنـنـدـ آـنـ نـيـاـيدـ پـذـيرـ فـتنـ. وـ بـاـ نـفـعـالـشـ وـصـفـ نـكـنـنـدـ الاـ اـبـداـعـ
 گـرـدـنـ. بـيـاـيدـ دـالـيـستـ كـهـ مـذـهـبـ حـقـ آـنـيـستـ كـهـ هـمـ اـيـجادـهاـ اـزـ خـداـسـتـ،
 اـكـرـ بـاـ بـدـاعـ باـشـدـ آـنـ اـيـجادـ يـاـ بـاـ حـادـثـ، وـ اـبـداـعـ اـيـجادـ گـرـدـنـ باـشـدـ كـهـ
 اـبـتـداءـ زـماـنـيـ نـدارـدـ، وـ اـحـدـاـتـ اـيـجادـ گـرـدـنـ باـشـدـ كـهـ اـبـتـداءـ زـماـنـيـ دـارـدـ.

ولاکن این ابداع بدین فعل که اینجا گفته است ابداع خواسته است که فیضان او از ذات باری تعالی بودی واسطه حرکت- حرکت و زمان را بدوراه نیست بلکه زمان از وی بوجود آمده است- و اندر جسمانیات باشد از فلک اعلی تا مرکز عالم- وزمان مقدار [4] حرکت اعلی است- و تقدیر کردن آن حرکت بتقدم و تاخر و بودن این اجسام سفلی در تغیر و کون و فساد از جهت حرکات همایویات است- و دهر چون ظرفیست زمان را- و گوئی بر جمله زمان محیط است- و نسبت دهر نسبت ملائمه کنند بزمان و اجزاء زمان و زمانیات که ایشان سرمدی اند و متغیر نشوند هرگز- و جای پس از زمان پدید آمده است که حد نهندۀ او فلک است، و بیرون از فلک هیچ موجود نیست نه خلاونه ملا- یکی ازان روی که تقدیر و اجزا نپذیرد، و یکی ازان رو که نظیر و ضد ندارد، و یکی بذات و نعت و کلمه و عدد- کامگاریست که عدم را بوجود قوی کند- داداری است که قوة را بفعال آرد، ممکن را واجب کرداند- توتش نامتناهی است از روی احکام و اتقان و شدة- و بعضی از موجودات را نگاه دارد بمدتی نا متناهی- و بعضی که احتمال بقاء نامتناهی نکند عده اشخاص نامتناهی بعدد کند- حکمیش همه موجودات را بر نیکو توین نظامی کردانیده، و در حیثش راه نموده است همه موجودات را سوی یافتن کمال خویش- ممکن نبود که چیزهای نامتناهی بعدد موجود گرداند [5] یکبار، هیچین ممکن نگردد که جسم بی واسطه از ذات ایزد حاصل الوجود

کردد- زیرا که جسم مرکبست از ماده و صورت و در ذات ایزد جل و عز هیچ تکثر نیست، و چیزی که متکثراً باشد از واحد موجود نیاید بی واسطه، اماملاً نکه که واجب الوجود گشته اند بوجود ایزد ایشان ممکن الوجود اند در حد نفس خویش، پس همه متکثراً باشند زیرا که بحسب اعتبار عقل ایشان را دوری باشد متقابل ولاتن در وجود بسیط اند واحدی الذات، فایض با بداع از ذات باری عز و جل- وجود جواهر روحانی که در زمان و مکان در نیاید صورتها محض اند که با ماده مخالطة و علاقه ندارند و هیچ معنی در ایشان نیست بلکه همه بسیط اندوسرمدی و بمعالمه ایزد شریف گشته اند- ایزد مثال واجب الوجود را در ذات ایشان نهاد بافعال او ظاهر- پس هر یکی دا بوجوب وجود که از ایزد یافته بود واسطه وجود ملکی گشت و افلاك پدید آمد- اجسامی خدا پرست و نورانی که اشکال شان فاضلترین اشکال است مدور، و لون ایشان نیکوترين الوازن است منور، و صوره شان بهترین صوره است که نه نظیر دارد و نه ضد- و باید دانست که هر جسم مماثل که حرکت [p. 6] وضعی کند او نوعی دیگر است و از نوع او جز شخص او نتواند بود، و کون و فساد نپذیرد- وبالا ترین افلاك فلك معدل النهار است و فلك البروج که معدل فلك استوا است و تعویچ- و اگر همه ستاره بودی و فلك نبودی بسیاری روشنی علتهاء کون و فساد این عالم را تباہ کرده- و اگر فلك بروج از معدل النهار میل نداشتی احوال همه عالم یکسان بودی و

ترتیب و نظام نبودی- پاکا خدایا همچنانکه قوه نامتناهی است جودت در دادن وجود هیچ باقی نگذارد- و متنع بود که نامتناهی پیکار موجود گردد مگر پرآگنده- پس هیولی را ابداع گردی که او را قوه پذیرفتن نامتناهی است چون قوه تودر دادن- و خداوند انقیادی که بدان منقاد شود فاعل کون را بچیزی که بدان عاصی شود فاعل کون را- پس گرمی را نما کننده آفریدی و سردی را گرد آرنده، رطوبت اقیاد را و یوست عصیان را- و از این چهار دکن اد کان پیافریدی، چون آتش و هوا و آب و زمین- و گرم ترین را بر جایگاه بر توین فرود [p. 7] آوردی از بهر آنکه اگر مردی آنجا بودی گرم گشته بحرکت فلك، و هیچ کائی نماندی که نه تباہ شدی از جهت غلبه گرمی بر دیگر عناصر هم بقوت و هم بحایگاه- و این سه عنصر بالائی را ب رنگ آفریدی و اگر نه شعاع را داه نبودی تا در ایشان بگذشتی- بباید دانستن که این سخن مجازی است از بهر آنکه شعاع را انتقال گردن و در چیزی گذشتن نبود، ولا کن چون جسم روشن در برابر جسمی روشنی پذیر باشد که میان ایشان جسمی بی دنگ باشد تا جسم روشنی پذیر مستعد روشنی پذیرفتن شود، و ایزد تعالی روشنی در وی بیافریند، و لمیت این سخن عقل بشری در نتواند یافتن- و زمین را دنگ دادی میان سپیدی و سیاهی تا دوشی پذیر باشد- و چون روشن شد گرم گردد- و گرمی غریزی که این گرمی سبب وجود صور تهاء طبیعی است- عناصر بسیار مرکبات بیافریدی از بحمد و معادن و نبات و حیوان

و مردم- و هر یکی دادر شرف و خست مرتبی دادی محدود- و غرض در آفرینش این ارکان مردم بود، و از فضاله او دیگر چیزها بیافریدی تا هیچ چیز از هیچ چیز پذیر نده فائت نشود، و همه موجودات بحق خویش دستند- بباید دانستن [p. 8] که ایزد عز و علا را در هیچ چیز غرض بنشد که غرض از بعزم و نقصان صاحب غرض باشد و خیر آن غرض با ذات او گردد، بلکه همه موجودات واجب الوجود اند باضافه با وجود ایزد تعالی- و هیچ موجود از دیگری اولی تر نیست بوجود بلکه همه بر صفتی اند از نظام و اتقان و نیکوئی و تمامی که ازان بهتر نشاید که آن نوع بود- ولات در سلسله نظام مبدائی که هر چه میان او و میان ایزد جل جلاله واسطه‌کتر است او شریفتر است- و در سلسله نظام معادی هر چند در میان او و میان هیولی واسطه بیشتر است آن شریفتر است- پس پدید آمد که همه موجودات در تمامی و نیکوئی در نوع خویش یکی اند، و تقاؤت در شرف و خست افتدۀ است نه آنکه یکی اولی تر است بوجود از دیگری- و مردم را دوان گویا دادی که اگر آنرا با کیزه گرداند بعلم حق و عمل خیره مانند ملائکه (گردد) و ثواب عظیم یابد- و چون مزاج نوع انسانی معتدل بود و اضداد نداشت مانند اجرام سماوی کشت در پذیر فتن نفس ناطقه- و چون از ماده مفارقت یافت مانند ملائکه کشت در ادراك معقولات، و در بساطت تابقاء جاویدی او دا [p. 9] لازم آمد- خداوند ما و آفریدگار ما و خداوند و آفریدگار مبادی تا ترا جوئیم

و ترا پرستیم و از تو خواهیم و توکل به تو کنیم که آغافز همه چیزها
از توست و باز کشتن همه چیزها بتوست - و السلام علی سید الانام
مهد و آله البردة الكرام -

APPENDIX II

هذه خطبة من انشاء الشيخ الرئيس ابى على بن سينا
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

سبحان الملك الجبار، الا الله القهار، لا تدركه الابصار، ولا
تمثله الا فكار- لا جوهر فتقبل الا ضداد متغير، ولا عرض
فسق وجود الجوهر- لا يوصف بكيف فيشاهده ويضاهي،
ولا يقدر وينجز- ولا بمضاف فيوارى في وجوده
الحاوى، ولا بأين يخاطبه ويحيى ولا يتهمى بعنتهى فتنقل من
مدة الى اخرى- ولا بوضع يختلف عليه الهيئات و يكشفه
الحدود والنهايات - ولا بجدة فيشتمل شامل ولا بافعال
فيغير وجوده عامل- ولا بفعل الا ابداعا، ويرتفع من محل
الزمان ارتفاعا- الزمان عنه في الا مكنته الا على، و ناحية
الجوهر الادنى- وفي عند اشتغال الحركة على متقدم ومتأخر
و وجود الجسم في تبدل و تغير- والدهر وعاء زمانه، و
نسبة مبدعاته الى اختلاف احيائه- و المكان بليل الزمان
وجودا، و يحده او ايل عمل الزمان تحديدا- وأحد لا ينقسم
تعديلها، و لا حدا، واحد لا يقارن نظيرا و لا ضداما، واحد

ذاتاً و نعتاً و كلمةً وعدداً - قهار للعدم بالوجود و التحصيل، جبارٌ لـما بالقوة و بالفعل و التكميل - ذي قوة غير متناهية شدة، وفي المقوى عليه عدّة و مُدّة - و حكمه هيأت لـكلّ شئ اسباب فعاله، و رحمته تهدى كل شئ الى خصائص كماله - ذات يفيض عنه وجود كل موجود، و ترتب الموجودات عنه بترتيب مقدر محدود - وليس في طباع الكثرة ان يكون (يوجد) معا، ولا في قوة الجسم ان يظهر عنه مبدعا - كل مبدع واجب الوجود بوجوده، و وجوده ممكن في حد نفسه - و يظهر عنده وجود جواهر روحانية لا مكانية و لا زمانية، صور عارية عن الموارد، خالية عن القوة و الا استعداد - تجلّى لها فاشرقت، و طالعها فتلاّلت و القى في هو ياتها مثاله، فاظهر عنها امثاله، فكان لكل واحد يماله من الاول وجود ملك، و بما تحقق (تخلق؟) من ذاته وجود فلك - و ابدع بتوسيطهن اجساما ربانية يشتمل اكثراها عن اجسام نورانية - اشكالها افضل الاشكال و هو المستدير، والوانها احسن الوان و هو المستنير - و صورها افضل الصور لبرأتها عن الاضداد، و امنها من التغير و الفساد - ين فلك فلكى

معدل النهار والبروج فلك الاستواء والتعويج - فلو كن افلأ
 كا بلا نيرات دون النجوم لما اختلف الاوقات الفاعلة لنشو
 الحيوان والنبات، ولو كن نيرات بلا افلأك لازهق اثبات
 الاضواء وعمل الكون والفساد - ولو لم يكن الفلك المائل عن
 معدل النهار، لاستوت الفصول وتشابهت احوال النواحي والا
 قطوار - سبحانك سبحانك كنت ذا قوة غير متناهية - وجود لا
 يبقى في اعطاء الوجود من باقيه - وكان ممتنعا وجود ما لا
 ينتهي ان يوجد معاً، وان يوجد الامفترقا لاماً - فابدعت
 الهيولى الاولى ذات قوة غير متناهية في الانفعال، كانت
 ذو قوة غير متناهية في الفعال - وعلمت ان الكون والفساد
 لا يكون الا بجماع ومبدد وذى انقياد والكون والا
 ستقصاء على المفسد - فخلقت الحرارة مبدة لذاتها،
 والبرودة جامعة في صفاتها - والرطوبة لينقاد بها الا جسام
 للتلحيل والتشكيل، والبيوسة ليتاسك لها على ما افتلت من
 التقويم والتعديل - فخلقت منها العناصر الاولى، واسكنت
 سخينها المكان الاعلى - ولو اسكتت العنصر البارد يسخن
 بحراك الفلك - ولما يقع كائن الآهلك لاستيلاء الحرارة على

سائر الا ركان بالقوّة والمكان. و خلقت العناصر العلن ذات اشفاف بالطبع، و الا لا متنع عن النفوذ فيها ساطع الشعاع. خلقت الارض ذات لون غبراء، و الا لاما وقف عليها الضياء الذي هو علة الحرارة الغريزة الفاعلة للتصور الطبيعة. فخلقت منها جمادا ونباتا وحيوانا اشتاتا. ف تكون و فاسد و تولد و توالد. و الغرض المقدم فيها خلقة الانسان، و خلقت من فضائله سائر الا كوان. لثلا يفوت عناصر احقة، ولا يقصر من قابل فسخه. و خلقت الانسان ذات نفس ناطقة ان زكّاه بالعلم والعمل، فقد شابه لها جواهر اوائل العلل. و اذا اعتدل مزاجه و عدم الا ضداد، فشاكل به السبع الشداد. و اذا فارق صور القوابيل، فشاكل بها العلل الاولى. ربنا و رب سادتنا، اياك نروم و لك نصلى و نصوم. و عليك المعول و انت المبداء الاول. نسألك التوفيق و العصمة و التنبيه عن الغفلته. و افاضة الهدایته، و كشف الشبته. انك وفي ذمالك و مبدأه و اوله. و الحمد لوليّه و مستحقه والصلوة على نبيه محمد خير خلقه واصحابه اجمعين.

IV

SHAMS TABRIZI

Was he an Ismā'īlian?

THE name of Shamsu'd-Din Tabrizi, the spiritual teacher of the eminent mystic Jalālu'd-Din Rūmī, author of the *Mathnawī*, is so well known in Persian mystic literature, that it seems rather strange to find that, while considerable material is available for the life of the latter in the biographies of the Persian poets and Sūfis, little is known about the former, except some thaumaturgical anecdotes of little substantial value recorded by some heresiologists. In fact, we possess very scanty information regarding the saintly personage whom Professor Nicholson describes as a 'weird figure, wrapped in coarse black felt, who flits across the stage and disappears tragically enough.'¹ As to his early life we are quite in the dark. Even his parentage is uncertain. We come across a few incidents of his life given in the biographical notices of his disciple Jalālu'd-Din Rūmī. Although some biographers have attempted to deal with

¹ Selected Poems from the *Diwān-i-Shams-i-Tabriz*, Introduction, p. xviii.

him separately, their descriptions contain nothing beyond his arrival in Qonia (Iconium) in 642 A.H., his relations with the poet (Rūmī), his sudden disappearance and stay at Damascus, and, finally, his tragic murder in 645 at the hands of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, the son of his own disciple.¹ Some writers have also given the pedigree of his spiritual teachers.² That is all the information we possess about his life.³

As it is often the case that a writer's religious prejudice or political animosity invariably prevents him from taking an impartial attitude, one of his biographers having described the mystic as a lineal descendant of the Ismā'īlian rulers of Alamūt. This statement, which has been accepted on insufficient data by some Muslim writers as well as by some European Orientalists, has led the followers of a particular cult to insist on his being an adherent of the Ismā'īlian creed. That this is far from true I shall now proceed to show on the authority of trustworthy accounts.

The contention of those who want to prove Shams Tabrizi an Ismā'īlian is based entirely on the fact that some writers have given the name of the mystic's father as 'Alā'u'd-Dīn or Jalālu'd-Dīn, both names of rulers of Alamūt and heads of the Assas-

¹ The dates given by his biographers do not seem to be correct, for which see the above reference.

² Dawlatshāh, *Tadzhkirah*, p. 127, (Lahore ed.)

³ Nicholson, pp. xvii-xxv.

sins. An attempt has been made to trace his descent from one or the other, with a view to proving him to be an Ismā'īlian.

After a critical examination of different sources I find that the claim that the name of Shams' father was 'Alā'u'd-Dīn and that therefore he was an Ismā'īlian, is not supported by historical evidence. He had, moreover, no connection whatsoever with the Ismailite sect either by descent or persuasion.

The known sources giving an account of the mystic are enumerated below :

PERSIAN SOURCES

- (1) Shamsu'd-Dīn Aflākī (710-745): *Manāqibu'l-Ārifin.*
- (2) 'Abdu'r-Rahmān Jāmī (d. 898 A.H.): *Nafahātu'l-Una.*
- (3) Dawlatshāh, (d. 900 A.H.): *Tadhkiratu'shu-Shu'arā.*
- (4) Nūrullāh Shustari (d. 1019/1610-11): *Majālisu'l-Mu'minīn.*
- (5) Ridā Qulī Hidāyat (d. 1872 A.D.): *Majma'u'l-Fushā.*

URDU SOURCES

- (6) Shiblī Nu'mānī: *Sawāniḥ Mawlānā Rūm.*
- (7) Muḥammadu'd-Dīn Fawq : *Halāt-i-Shams-i-Tabriz.*

ENGLISH SOURCES

- (8) Redhouse : *English Translation of Mathnawī*, Introduction.
- (9) R. A. Nicholson : *Selected Poems from the Diwān-i-Shams-i-Tabrīz*.
- (10) E. G. Browne : *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II.

In the above sources we have been able to trace two theories regarding the parentage of the saint :

1. Among the earlier writers Aflākī and Jāmī both agree that Shamsu'd-Dīn was the son of one Muhammad bin 'Alī b. Malikdād or Malik Dā'ūd. Dawlatshāh still further goes on to relate that his father originally belonged to Bāzar in the district of Khurāsān and came for purposes of trade to Tabrīz, where Shams was born.
2. Dawlatshāh states that Shams was a descendant of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn (in some MSS. Jalālu'd-Dīn), and at the same time he quotes the opinion of the author of *Silsilatu'dh-Dhabab*, who says that it is wrong to allege Shams to have been the son of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn. The same opinion has been quoted by Shiblī on the authority of the *Nafhāt*. But it is strange to find that neither in the *Nafhāt* nor in the *Silsilah*

(three manuscript copies of which I have been able to secure) does this remark appear.

Besides the two older authorities of Aflākī and Jāmī, all other sources, with the exception of *Majma'u'l-Fusahā*, entirely rely upon Dawlatshāh. None of these sources expressly or impliedly state that Shams belonged to the Ismā'īlian sect beyond mentioning 'Alāu'd-Dīn or Jalālu'd-Dīn as his supposed father. The author of *Majma'u'l-Fusahā*, who has written the lives of the Persian poets, with much care and precision, had relied on Aflākī and Jāmī in this respect. Thus it is evident that Dawlatshāh has been followed throughout in respect of the names of the Ismā'īlian rulers.

Let us now examine how far Dawlatshāh is to be relied upon in this matter. It would be sufficient to mention here that one good reason for disbelieving Dawlatshāh lies in his misstatement, attributing to 'Alāu'd-Dīn the act of abandoning the faith of his forefathers which is attributable to Jalālu'd-Dīn according to all Islamic chronicles which give an account of the Ismā'īlian dynasty of Alamūt. We give here below the following references :

1. Ibnu'l-Athīr : *Tā'rīkhū'l-Kāmil*. Vol. XII,
p. 115.
2. Abu'l-Fidā : *Tā'rīkh*, Vol. III, p. 114.
3. Hamdullah Mustawfi : *Tā'rīkh-i-Guzīdah*,
p. 523.

4. Mirkhond : *Raudatu's-Safā*, Part IV, p. 81.

On the strength of the above authorities it is obvious that it would be a very serious error to apply the well-known historical act to the son instead of to the father. Even Professor Nicholson has erroneously followed Dawlatshāh in giving him the name of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn (p. xix).

Moreover, on the following grounds we have every reason to disbelieve Dawlatshāh in this matter :

- (1) He himself does not cite any authority for giving the name of Shamsu'd-Dīn's father as 'Alā'u'd-Dīn or Jalālu'd-Dīn.
- (2) Dawlatshāh, while taking notice of Jāmī's refutation of the name, puts forward another theory about Shamsu'd-Dīn's father. He writes :

"Some people say that he was originally a native of Khurāsān and belonged to the town of Bāzar. His father had settled in Tabrīz for the purpose of doing business in cloth" (p. 127).

In conclusion he remarks :

"It matters not to what place he belonged, as we are not concerned with 'face' but with 'action.'"

It is likewise significant that he does not give the name of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn with any specious show of credibility.

- (3) Dawlatshāh is mostly unreliable as far as

historical facts are concerned. Numerous errors have been detected in his *Tadhkirah*, on which scholars hesitate to rely for names and dates. Professor Muḥammad Iqbāl who prepared the Lahore edition of Dawlatshāh's work, has very judiciously made the following remarks :

'Dawlatshāh, being a contemporaneous writer, can be trusted as far as the seventh period of Persian poets is concerned, but it is evident that he has not written historical facts carefully in his book. He has accepted all sorts of traditions, right or wrong, owing to which several errors have crept into his work, and scholars like Shibli and Rieu have been misled by relying upon it.'¹

Professor Browne, who prepared a correct European edition of Dawlatshāh, has aptly observed :

"This is an entertaining but inaccurate work, containing a good selection of historical errors, which have in some cases misled even good and careful scholars like Rieu."²

Consequently, the following facts are brought home to us :

1. That in older accounts the name of Shams'ud-

¹ Lahore edition of Dawlatshāh, Introduction.

² A Literary History of Persia, Vol. III, p. 436

Dīn's father occurs as Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Malikdād or Malik Dā'ūd, and not 'Alāu'd-Dīn or Jalālu'd-Dīn.

2. That Nūrullāh Shustarī, Shiblī, Nicholson and Browne have given the names of 'Alāu'd-Dīn on the authority of Dawlatshāh.
3. That Dawlatshāh is the only writer who gives the name of 'Alāu'd-Dīn, which is not supported by any other authority prior to Dawlatshāh. Moreover, he is not trustworthy in this matter for reasons stated above.
4. That the author of *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahā*, while writing about Shams, has followed Jāmī rather than rely on Dawlatshāh or Nūrullāh in giving the name of his father.
5. That the pedigree of the spiritual teachers of Shams Tabrizi, as given by Dawlatshāh, contains the names of renowned Sūfis who were almost all adherents of the Sunnite school, a fact which explodes the theory of Shams being an Ismā'īlian.
6. That there is no direct evidence to prove that either Shams or his disciple belonged to the Ismā'īlian cult ; nor is there any specific reference found in their poems to indicate that they were Ismā'īlians.

In view of the above facts and circumstances,

the alleged claim of Shamsu'd-Dīn being an Ismā'īlian is absolutely unfounded, as it is not based on any data of evidential value. Sufficient grounds have been set out above to prove that the theory of his descent from the Ismā'īlian dynasty of Alamūt is entirely untenable, as its soundness has not been vouched for by earlier writers of recognised eminence.

V

THE ARABIC POETRY OF HAFIZ.¹

THE share contributed by the Persians in the expansion of Arabic literature is a subject too vast to be dealt with in a short article. But study of the Arabic compositions of those famous Persian poets who are called bilingual, like Masūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, Sa'dī, Khusraw, 'Imād, Hāfiẓ and Jāmī, would furnish ample material for filling the gap in the literary history of Persia. As a matter of fact, the rôle played by the Persian poets in the realm of Arabic Poetry is of outstanding importance, as it forms a link between the post-classical Arabic literature and the contributions of the Persians to Arabic. This is, indeed, a very interesting subject for study and research, which has hitherto been neglected, at which the late Professor Browne has expressed his

¹ While publishing this article in the *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, April, 1939, the editor observed :—

"Hāfiẓ of Shirāz is pre-eminently a Persian lyric poet. In his *Dīwān* interspersed among Persian poems are found many ornamental Arabic hemistichs and verses which, as the great Indian scholar Shibli has in his famous book *Shi'rul-'Ajam* aptly remarked, are like precious stones set in a ring. Admittedly Hāfiẓ was versed in Arabic literature and learning, and was endowed with considerable talent for composing Arabic verses, but this does not entitle him to be ranked among the eminent Arabic poets of his period. In the present article the writer has tried to demonstrate by quoting examples that Hāfiẓ had a remarkable aptitude for versifying in Arabic."

astonishment.¹

That Khwāja Ḥāfiẓ of Shīrāz enjoys world-wide reputation as a lyrical poet of Persia, does not require special emphasis. His Persian poems are well known and are read with great interest and enthusiasm all over Asia and Europe. But few of his admirers are perhaps aware that Ḥāfiẓ possessed the ability of composing poems in Arabic also. Many Arabic verses are found in his Dīwān which have become an integral part of his Persian poems. The Dīwān of Ḥāfiẓ, which has for long been published in Persia, India and Europe, was not compiled by the poet himself in his lifetime, but was collected after his death by his old friend Muḥammad Gulandām, who edited it with an introduction. It has been rightly remarked that numerous interpolations have crept into the *Dīwān-i-Ḥāfiẓ* on account of its constant transcription ; and as Ridā Qulī says² the verses and odes of Salmān of Sāwa (d. 778 A.H.), a contemporary of Ḥāfiẓ, have been inserted in his Dīwān. Undoubtedly such verses and even complete odes have been interpolated in most of the later editions of the Dīwān, but there can be no obvious reason for introducing the Arabic verses or poems composed by others in the name of Ḥāfiẓ, although an instance of this kind will be noticed later on. There

¹ A *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. I, p. 447.

² *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahā*, Vol. II, p. 12.

is little doubt, however, about the genuineness of these Arabic compositions in the *Diwān* of Hāfiẓ.

Before dwelling on the Arabic poetry of Hāfiẓ it will be worth while to ascertain the academic career of the poet and his competent knowledge of the Arabic language and literature, and also to inquire what sort of works he composed in Arabic besides these stray verses in his *Diwān*. In his biographies the poet is simply described as a "Hāfiẓ," or one who has committed the *Qur'ān* to memory. He was not only a *Hāfiẓ* in this sense ; he was also conversant with the different readings of the sacred Book to which he alludes in the following verse :

نديم خوشر از شعر تو حافظ بقرآنی که اندر سینه داري

عشقت رسد بفریاد ارخود بسان حافظ

قرآن زبر بخوانی با چارده دوایت

"I have never seen any poetry sweeter than thine, O Hāfiẓ, by virtue of that *Qur'ān* which thou keepest in thy bosom."

"Love may attend to your complaint if, like Hāfiẓ, you learn the *Qur'ān* by heart with fourteen readings."

One of his biographers says that Hāfiẓ received his education under Mawlānā Shams-u'd-Dīn 'Abdullah of Shirāz, who used to teach in the school founded by him.¹

¹ *Majma'u'l-Fusahā*, Vol. II, p. 12.

It is stated that Hājī Qiwāmu'd-Dīn Ḥasan (d. 754 A.H.), the Vizier of the Treasury of Shāh Abu Ishāq, who was a patron of letters, founded a college at Shīrāz, where he appointed his *protégé* Hāfiẓ as a Professor of Jurisprudence and Quranic Commentary.¹

His service in the said college can be inferred from the following verses by him :

طاق و درواق مدرسه و قبل و قال دس

زینها بخاک کوی تو ما دو نهاده ایم

“Leaving aside the portico and vault of the college, and the discussions of teaching, we have come down to the dust of thy lane.”

از قبل و قال مدرسه حلا دلم گرفت

یکچند نیز خدمت معشوق و می کنم

“My heart has by now got sick of the discourses and discussions of the college and now I should also attend for some time to wine and the beloved.”

و در مدرسه تا چند نشینی حافظ

خیز تا از در میخانه کشادی طلبیم

“How long, O Hāfiẓ, wilt thou sit at the door of the school ? Get up, and let us find an escape in a tavern.”

¹ *Hayāt-i-Hāfiẓ* (Urdu), pp. 8-11.

ز کنج مدرسه حافظ محی گوهر عشق
قدم بروند نه آگر میل جستجو داری

"O Hāfiẓ, seek not the pearl of love in the corner of the school; step out if thou art inclined to search for it."

The oldest documentary evidence which we possess about the attainments of Hāfiẓ in Arabic is the introduction to his Dīwān, written by his friend Gulandām, which is a fine specimen of the Persian prose of the eighth century. In the course of his introduction the editor says, *inter alia* :

”ولی محافظت درس قرآن و ملازمت شغل سلطان و
تحشیه کشاف و مصباح و مطالعه مطالع و مفتاح و تحصیل توانین
ادب و تجسس دواوین عرب از جمع ایات و غزلیاتش را
مانع آمدی“

Professor Browne has translated the above passage as follows : .

"However, diligent study of the Qur'ān, constant attendance to the King's business, the annotation of the *Kashshāf* and the *Miṣbāḥ*, the perusal of the *Maṭālī'* and the *Miftāḥ*, the acquisition of canons of literary criticism and the *appreciation of Arabic poems* prevented him from collecting his verses and odes."¹

In the above translation Browne has read

¹ A Literary History of Persia, Vol. III, p. 272.

تَجْسِيس دَوَّاينَ عَربٍ for تَعْسِينَ دَوَّاينَ عَربٍ which, I think, is not quite correct. The word تَجْسِيس is found in most of the printed as well as manuscript copies of the *Dīwān* of Hāfiẓ. Besides, this reading does not convey any plausible meaning, as the appreciation of *Dīwāns* or poems does not involve such an absorbing mental preoccupation as to prevent a poet from compiling his *Dīwān*. The exact translation should therefore be "the search for Arabic *Dīwāns*" which is most suitable and appropriate.

This introduction is to be found in the oldest copies of the *Dīwān*. Hājī Khalifa has also translated as follows a portion of the above quotation into Arabic :¹

” ذَكَرَ مَرْتَبَ دِيْوَانَ حَفْظَ فِي دِيْبَاجَتِهِ أَنْ مَوْلَانَا حَفَظَ لَمْ يَرْتَبْ دِيْوَانَهُ لِكُثُرَةِ اشْتِغَالِهِ بِتَحْشِيَّةِ الْكَشَافِ وَالْمَطَالِعِ وَدَرْسِهِما فَرَتَبَ بَعْدَهُ بِإِشَارَةِ قَوَامِ الدِّينِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ ”

From this it is evident that Hāfiẓ, besides studying the Qur'ān, wrote annotations on the well-known commentary of al-Zamakhsharī, which served at that time as text-book in the Arabic Madrasahs and is still prescribed in India and Muslim countries. He also annotated the *Miṣbāḥ*, a book on Arabic grammar by al-Muṭarrizī (d. 610 A.H.).² Both

¹ *Kashfū'l-Zunūn*, Vol. I, p. 508.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 448-449. Hājī Khalifa has given the titles of commentaries on this book and the names of their authors, some of whom were contemporaries with Hāfiẓ. This book was prescribed as a text-book in the 8th century.

these works of Hāfiẓ have apparently been irrecoverably lost. To his annotations on the *Kashshāf* he alludes in the following verse :

ز حافظان جهان کس چو بنده جمع نکرد
لطائف حکما با کتاب قرآنی

“No one of the Hafizes in the world has combined as I have the facetious sayings of the philosophers with the scripture of the Qur’ān.”

From the following verses it is evident that Hāfiẓ had a special liking for the book *Kashshāf* and spent most of his time in reading, lecturing and writing notes on it. He says :

ز مصحف دخ دلدار آیتی بخوان
که آن بیان مقامات کشف و کشافت
بخواه دفتر اشعار و دو بصرها کن
جه وقت مدرسه و بحث کشف و کشافت

“Read a verse from the book of the face of the beloved as it is an explanation of difficult passages from the books *Kashf* and *Kashshāf*.”

“Take the collection of poems and proceed to a desert as this is not the time for attending college and debating the arguments of *Kashf* and *Kashshāf*.”

By *Kashf* mentioned in both the verses probably *Kashfūl-Asrār* is meant, either a book on the exegesis of the Qur’ān, written by Abu Ṭālib of

Mecca (d. 437 A.H.)¹, or the *Kashfu'l-Asrār* of 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Ahmād al-Bukhārī (d. 730 A.H.), a commentary on the Principles of Jurisprudence by al-Bazūdī (d. 482 A.H.).²

Besides this, Hāfiẓ indulged in the study of *Maṭāli'* and *Miftāḥ*; by the first probably *Maṭāli'u'l-Anzār* is meant, a work on Logic and Philosophy by al-Baidāwī (d. 683 A.H.).³ The second, *Miftāhu'l-'Ulūm*, is a cyclopædia of Rhetoric by as-Sakkākī (d. 606 A.H.).⁴ Both these works were generally prescribed as text-books for higher studies in Arabic in those times. This is a proof of Hāfiẓ's scientific and philosophical studies in the Arabic language.

From the introduction to the *Dīwān* of Hāfiẓ, referred to above, we learn about his fondness for the *Dīwāns* of Arab poets which is of itself a testimony to his high taste in Arabic poetry. In the opening line of his *Dīwān* he has inserted a hemistich from the following verse of the Umayyad ruler, the notorious Yazid, who was a poet of some distinction and the author of a *Dīwān*.⁵

أنا المسئوم ما عندي بترابق ولا راق
ادر كأساً وناولها الا يبا اتها الساق

¹ Hāji Khalīfa, Vol. II, p. 320.

² Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 114-15.

³ Ibid., Vol. II.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. II, p. 480. Hāji Khalīfa has given a list of commentaries on *Miftāḥ*, some of them written by contemporaries of Hāfiẓ.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 526.

This quotation of Hāfiẓ became so popular that it inspired several poets to compose odes modelled after the same metre and rhyme. Of such imitations the following Ghazal of Jāmī may be taken as a fine imitation.¹

نَسِيمُ الصَّبَحِ زُرْمَتِي دَبِي بَخْدٍ وَ قَبْلَهَا
كَبُوْثَى دُوْسَتِي مَى آيْدِ اِزاْنَ پَا كِيزَه مَنْزَلَهَا
دَسِيدِ اِينَكَ زَدَه سَلْمَى وَ مَنْ اِزْضَعَفَ تَنْ زَيْنَ سَانَ
فَخَذِ يَا صَاحِ دَوْسِي تَحْفَةً مَتِي وَ قَبْلَهَا
زَجُودِ دُورِ غَمْرَ جَامِ جَامِ قَصَهَا دَارَدَ
وَلَكُنْ خَوْفِ اِمْلَالِ النَّدَامِيِّ لَمْ يَطْوَهَا

The concluding couplet, in the above-mentioned Ghazal of Hāfiẓ, has been a subject of criticism by the Indian poet and critic, the learned Āzād of Bilgirām, who says that in the following hemistich :

مَتِي مَا تَلَقَّ مِنْ تَهْوِي دَعِ الدَّنْبَا وَ اِمْهَلَهَا

the letter ف should have been supplied before the word دَع, because according to the rules of Grammar when the compensation جَزَاء of a hypothesis شَرْط falls in the imperative, prohibitive or nominal proposition, it is expedient to add ف before it.²

¹ The complete ode of Jāmī with an English translation will be found in Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. III, pp. 544-45.

² *Khazāna-i-Āmira*, p. 182.

But ar-Rādī in his commentary on *Kāfiyah*¹ and some commentators of *Alfiyyah* have allowed such a latitude to the poets, who are accordingly at liberty not to use ف in such cases. It is a well-known dictum that يتجاوز للشاعر مالا يتجاوز لغيره—what is allowed to poets is not allowed to others.

That Hāfiẓ had access to the works of the Arabian poets can be inferred from his verses in which he seems to have borrowed the ideas of those poets, for instance :²

بُو اِيْن دَام بِرْمَغْ دَكْرَنَه كَه عَنْقَارَا بَلَند اَسْت آشِيَانَه
which is apparently a direct importation of the idea expressed by Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arī in the following verse :

ادِي العَنْقَاء تَكْبِرَ انْ تَصَادَا فَعَانَدَ مِنْ تَطْبِيقِ لَه عَنَادَا

The Arab poet at-Tannūkhī says :

وَإِذَا مَتَّ أَسْطَحَانِي وَافْرَشَا مِنْ غَصُونَ الْكَرْمِ تَحْتَ فَرْشَا
وَاقْطَعَانِي كَفَنَا مِنْ زَقْهَا وَانْضَجَا مِنْهُ عَلَيْهِ وَارْشَا
وَادْفَانِي يَأْنَدِي إِلَى اَصْلِ كَرْمِ فَرْعَه قَدْ عَرْشَا
لِيظَلَّ الْفَرْعُ مِنْ ظَاهِرًا وَيَرُ وَالْأَصْلُ مِنْ الْعَطْشَا
وَكَلَانَا بَعْدَ مَا قَلَتِ إِلَى حَاكِمٍ يَفْعَلُ فِينَا مَا يَشَا

Hāfiẓ seems to have borrowed the same idea in the following verses of his *Sāqī-Nāmah* :

¹ *Sharḥu'r-Rādī 'Ala'l-Kāfiyah*, Vol. I, p. 86.

² *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. III, p. 289.

چو من بگزدم زین جهان خراب بشوئید جسم مرا با شراب
 بتا بونه اذ چوب تا کم کنید راه خرابات خاکم کنید
 با ب خرابات غسلم دهید پس انگاه بر دوش مستم نهید
 مریزید بر گود من جز شراب میارید در ماتم جز رباب

Al-Khaṭīb of Qazwīn says :

لولم تكن نية الجوزاء خدمته لـا رأيت عليها عقد منتطفق

Hāfiẓ reproduces the same idea in his following verse :

جوزا سحر نهاد حائل برابم
 يعني غلام شاهم و سوگندی خودم

The following line of the famous Tughrā'i :

هذا هلال العيد قد جاءنا يمنجل يقصد شهر الصيام

has surely inspired our poet when he says :

مزدح سبز فلك دیدم و داس مه نو
 یادم از کشته خویش آمد و هنگام درو

About the poet's knowledge of Arabic Professor Browne observes :

"As regards Hāfiẓ's intellectual attainments, his bilingual poems alone show that he had a good knowledge of Arabic, apart from the statements of his editor, Muḥammad Gulandām, as to his more scientific work in that language."¹

¹ A Literary History of Persia, Vol. III, p. 289.

Looking to a trustworthy piece of historical importance, contained in the introduction to his *Dīwān*, and finding in it references to his literary pursuits, we come on sure ground as to Hāfiẓ's qualifications and his systematic studies in Arabic arts and sciences. The following verses show that Hāfiẓ was well acquainted with the following standard works of Arabic Philosophy and Medicine : the *Sharḥu'l-Mawāqif* by Qādī 'Adudu'd-Dīn al-Ījī and *Al-Qānūn* and *Ash-Shifā* of Avicenna :

دگر چو قاضی فاضل عضد که در تصنیف
 بنای شرح موافق نام شاه نهاد
 دی گفت طبیب از سر حسرت چو مرا دید
 هبات که درد تو ز قانون و شفا دافت

His thirst for acquaintance with various branches of Arabic learning is evident from an anecdote mentioned by the author of *Laṭā'ifu'l-Khayāl*¹ in which Hāfiẓ is said to have read *Hikmatu'l-'Ain*, a textbook of Philosophy,² with Sayyid Sharīf of Jurjān. It is related that while reading Hāfiẓ asked his teacher the definition of جیل بسیط or Simple

¹ The original text was published in the *Oriental College Magazine*, November 1934 ; a Persian work on the biographies of Persian poets written in 1072 A.H. (1665 A.D.), a unique MS. of which has been discovered and described by Professor Muhammad Iqbāl of the Punjab University.

² A treatise on Divine Philosophy written by 'Alī b. Muḥammad known as Dabirān-al-Kātibī of Qazwīn (d. 675 A.H.).

Ignorance, to which the latter replied : ‘It is the same kind of ignorance as employed by you in the following verse :

کفم این جام جهان بین بتو کے داد حکیم
گفت آن روز که این گنبد مینا می کرد

(i.e., ‘When did the Wise give you this world-reflecting goblet ?’ I asked him. ‘The very day when He was making this goblet-like dome,’ he replied).

There is no separate Arabic Dīwān of Hāfiẓ, but the occasional Arabic verses and poems which are scattered here and there in his Persian Dīwān form the bulk of the Arabic production of Hāfiẓ. These verses and poems are of two kinds, *viz.*—

1. *Mulamm'āt*, “Patchwork” or Macaronic poems, in which alternate lines or verses are in two different languages, generally Arabic and Persian. The Arabic hemistich is often some well-known phrase from the verses of the Qur'ān or a quotation from Hadīth (the Sayings of the Prophet), a proverb or an aphorism, and these have been so exquisitely set that, according to the learned Shiblī, “they look like pretty gems set in a ring.”¹

2. Purely Arabic poems and verses which are unrivalled in simplicity and eloquence and bear

¹ *Shīru'l-'Ajām*, Vol II, p. 227.

witness to the cultivated ease with which Hāfiẓ composed in Arabic. He himself says out of humility :

اگرچه عرض هنر پیش یاد بی ادبی است
زبان خوش ولیکن دهان پر از عربیست

The word 'Ajam in Arabic means dumb, and therefore زبان خوش may be taken for 'Ajamī or Persian language, and the meaning would be that, although the poet's tongue is Persian, yet his mouth is full of Arabic. Ibn Ma'sūm has taken the second hemistich of Hāfiẓ in the same meaning.¹

I give here below the Arabic verses and poems of Hāfiẓ as gathered from his Persian Diwān. It must be mentioned that most of these Arabic verses have been found to be transcribed incorrectly. I have been able to collate them with different copies of the Diwān and have corrected the mistakes made by the copyists.

I. The first kind of Hāfiẓ's Arabic poetry falls into four groups :

The *Taqdīm* or "insertion" of Quranic verses of which the following are illustrations :

شب قدر است و طی شد فاماً بھر

سلام هی حتی مطلع الفجر^۲

¹ *Sulāfatu'l-'Aṣr*, p. 489.

² *Qur'ān*, 97 : 5.

جسم حافظ زیر بام قصر آن حودی سرشت

شیوه جنات تجری تحتها الانهار داشت^۱
 ارجه بعدم میکشی تیغ جفا بکین من
 فکر مگر نمی کنی ف عمد مدد^۲
 چو هست آنجیات بدلست لشنه میر
 فلا تمت و من الماء کل شی حی^۳
 محتسب خم شکست و من سر او
 سن بالسن والخروح تصاص^۴
 به حسن عارض و قد تو بوده اند پناه
 بهشت و طوبی طوی لهم و حسن مآب^۵

(2) The insertion of Hadīth or sayings of the Prophet are found in the following couplets :

شعبده بازئی کنی هردم و نیست این دوا
 ال دسول دبنا ما اناقط من ادی
 مشورت با عقل کردم گفت حافظ می بنوش
 ساقیا می ده بقول مستشار مؤ تمن^۶

^۱ Qur'ān, 1 : 25.

^۲ Ibid., 104 : 9.

^۳ Ibid., 21 : 30.

The poet Anwārī has also inserted this verse in his following couplet :

سید آبست و حق همی گوید و من الماء کل شی حی
(Kulliyāt, p. 742, Lucknow).

^۴ Ibid., 5 : 45.

^۵ Ibid., 13 : 29.

^۶ See Majma'ul Bihār i'l-Anwar by al-Fatāni, Vol. I, p. 54.

(3) Proverbs :

بصوت بلبل و قری اکر ننوشی می
 علاج کے کنمت آخر الدواء الکی^۱
 هر چند کازمودم از وی نبود سودم
 من جرب المجرّب حلت به الند امه
 دخیم منکر خمار بود دوزی چند
 بدان دلیل که القاص لا یحبّ القاص^۲

(4) Lyrical mulamm'a or " patchwork " verses
 which abound in the Diwān :

(I)

خدادا برم من بدل بیخشانے وا او صلنی علی درغم الاعدادی
 نگارا درغم سودائے عشق ت توکلنا علی رب العباد
 دل حافظ شد اندر چین زلفت بلبل مظلوم واهه هادی

(II)

من از رندی خواهم کرد توبه ولو آذینی بال مجر وال مجر
 وفاخواهی جفا کش باش حافظ فان الرابع وال خسران ف التجیر

(III)

الا اي سادبان حمل دوست الى رکبانک طال اشتیاق
 یا ساقی بده دطل گرام سقاک الله من کاس دهاق

^۱ Vide Al-'Askari's *Jamharatu'l-Amthal*, p. 24 (Bombay ed.)
 Anwari says :

گو کنم خیور نه خود سوزم سفته اند آخر الدواء الکی

^۲ Imaad Faqih, a compatriot of Hafiz has also inserted the same proverb in his following verse :

بلبل اد طعنة ذند بی من چه غم القاص لا یحب القاص

(Oriental College Magazine, Vol. V, No. 4 Lahore.).

^۳ I think this should be بال مجر وال مجر according to the Arabic idiom ذکر مجره و مجره i.e., he stated his apparent and hidden defects.

در ونم خون شدا زنادیدن دوست الا تعساً لایام الفراق
مضحت فرص الوصال و ما شعرا نا بگو حافظ غزه هانه فراق

(IV)

چند پوید بهو آئی توز هرس و حافظ یسر الله طریقاً بک يا ملتمسی
(V)

شممت در وصال و شمت برق جمال
بیا که بوی ترا میرم ای سیم شمال
احادیاً بجمال الحبیب قف و اثرل
که نیست صبر حمیلم در اشتیاق وصال

(VI)

اختیاری نیست بدنامی ما ضللی فی العشق من یهدی السیل
بی مئی و مطری بفردوسم مخوان راحتی فی الراح لاف السلسیل

(VII)

پیمان شکن هر آئینه گردد شکسته دل
ان العهود عند ملوك النهی ذم
در نیل غم فتاد و سپهرش بطعنہ کفت
الآن قد ندمت و ما یتفع الندم
حافظ بکنج میکده دارد قرار گاه
کاظمی فی الحدیقة والیث فی الأجم

(VIII)

چشم خون بادر ما خواب نه در خور باشد
من له القتل دواء عجباً کیف ینام

تو توحّم نکنی بـ من بـ بدل دام
ذاك دعوای وها انت و تلك الايام

(IX)

از خوب دل نوشتم غرديك يارنامه
اـی دـأـیـت دـهـرـآـ فـ بـهـرـكـ الـقـيـامـهـ
هر چند کـازـمـودـمـ اـزـ وـیـ نـبـودـ سـوـدـمـ
من جـرـبـ المـجـرـبـ حـلـتـ بهـ النـادـمـهـ
دارـمـ منـ اـزـ فـراـقـتـ درـدـيـدـهـ صـدـ عـلامـهـ
ليـسـ دـمـوعـ عـيـنـيـ هـذـاـ لـنـاـ العـلامـهـ
پـرسـيدـمـ اـزـ طـبـيـيـ اـحـوالـ دـوـسـتـ كـفـتاـ
ـ فـ بـعـدـهاـ عـذـابـ فـ قـرـيـهـاـ الـقـيـامـهـ
ـ كـفـمـ مـلاـمـتـ آـرـدـگـرـگـرـدـ دـوـسـتـ كـرـدـمـ
ـ وـالـلـهـ مـاـ رـاـ أـيـنـاـ جـبـآـ بـلـاـ مـلاـمـهـ
ـ بـادـ صـبـاـدـلـمـ دـاـ نـاـگـهـ تـقـابـ بـرـداـشـتـ
ـ كـالـشـمـسـ فـ خـنـخـهـاـ تـطـلـعـ مـنـ النـاهـمـهـ
ـ حـافظـ جـوـ طـالـبـ آـمـدـ جـامـيـ وـ جـانـ شـيرـينـ¹
ـ حـتـىـ يـذـوقـ مـنـ كـاسـاـ مـنـ الـكـرـامـهـ

¹ Jāmī, in the same rhyme but in a different metre, has written the following Arabic verses, as given by Āzād in Ātashkādah (p. 80):

سلام الله ماناحت زمامه	لقد الالف او حادث شمامه
علي اكتاف واد حل قها	سعاد بالسعادة والسلامة

(X)

خوشا دمی که در آئی و گوییت بسلام
 قدمت خیر قدمون نزلت خیر مقام
 بسی نماند که روز فراق ما بسر آبد
 رأیت من دبضات الحمی قباب خیامی
 بعدت منک و قد صرت ذاتا کهلال
 اگرچه روی چو ماهت ندیده ام بتامی

(XI)

لسا که گفته ام از شوق باد و دیده خویش
 ایا منازل سلمی فاین سلمانک
 عجیب واقعه و بس غریب حادثه ایست
 انا اصطبرت قتیلا و قاتلی شاک
 اتر نماند ز من بی شمائلت آردی
 اردی مَأْوِيْ میمای من هُمیّاک
 دع التکاسل تغم فقد جری مثل
 که زاد راهروان چستی است و چالاکی

It must be remarked here that, in the above *Ghazal*, Hāfiẓ has imitated the ode of his compatriot 'Imād Faqīh using the metre and rhyme employed by the latter, as in other odes in which, too, the metres and rhymes used by 'Imād have been adopted by Hāfiẓ. The following concluding line of 'Imād has also been quoted by Hāfiẓ :

عماد خسته بکویت همیشه می گوید ایا منازل سلمی فاین سلمانک

Professor Iqbāl of the Punjab University has published such parallel odes of both the poets in the Oriental College Magazine.¹

II. The second kind of Hāfiẓ's Arabic poetry is purely Arabic verses of which a considerable selection is found in his Dīwān. I have collected them here, just to give an idea of his Arabic compositions :

(I)

سبت سليمي بصد غيها فوادي و دوى كل يوم لا ينادى
امن انكرتى عن حب سليمي غريق العشق فى بحر الوداد
(II)

سليمى منذ حلّت بالعراق الاقي في هواها ما الاقي
ديع العمري مرعى حماكم حماك الله يا عهد التلاق
نهانى الشيب عن وصل العذارى سوى تقبيل خدّ واعتناق
(III)

بضرب سيفك قتلى حياتنا ابدا
فإن دوى قد طاب ان يكون فداك
(IV)

ما بسليمي و من بذى سلم اين جيراننا و كيف الحال
عفت الدار بعد عافية فاستلهم حالمها عن الا طلال
قصة العشق لا انقسام طا فصمت ه هنا لسان الحال
يا بويد الحمى حماك الله مرجبا مرجبا تعال تعال !
في كمال الجمال نلت مني صرف الله عنك عين كمال

¹ November 1929, pp. 95-96.

The last verse, not found in any of the printed copies of the *Dīwān*, has been taken from Sādiq 'Alī's commentary on the *Dīwān* of Hāfiẓ.¹

(V)

يا ملحاً البرايا يا واهب العطايا عطفاً على مقلٍّ حلت به الدواهی

(VI)

اتت دوائمه رند الحمى و زاد غرامي
من المبلغ عنى الى سعاد سلامي
اذا تقرب عن ذى الاراك طائر خير
فلا تفرد من روضها اين حمامي
وان دعيت بلحد وصرت ناقض عهد
فما تطيب نفسى وما استطاب منامي

In this ode also the following Ghazal of 'Imād has been imitated :

على منازل سلمى تخىي و سلامى²
هناك روضة انسى وتلك دار سلامى

(VII)

سلام الله ما كرّ الليالي على ملك المكارم والمعالي
على واد الاراك ومن عليها و دار باللوى فوق الرمالى
اموت صابرًا يا ليت شعرى متى نطق البشير عن الوصال
فحبك داحتى في كل حين وذكرك مونسى في كل حالي

¹ *Sharḥ Dīwān-i-Hāfiẓ*, pp. 295-298 (Nawalkishore Press, 1314 A.H.)

² *Oriental College Magazine*, Vol. VI, No. I, pp. 95-96.

An Arabic ode of nine couplets has been given by Ṣādiq 'Alī in the name of Ḥāfiẓ in his commentary on the *Dīwān*, which begins with the following line :

الْمِيَاتُ لِلْحَبَابِ أَنْ تَرْ حَمُوا وَلِلنَّاقِضِينَ الْعَهْدَ أَنْ يَتَنَدَّمُوا

But this ode belongs to the famous poet Amīr Khusraw (d. 722 A.H.) who quotes it *in extenso* in his introduction to the Persian *Dīwān* Ghurratu'l-Kamāl.¹

In conclusion, I am inclined to remark that the Arabic poetry of Ḥāfiẓ has a peculiar charm of its own and on account of its archaic simplicity and elegant style, deserves to rank with the best poetry of the later and contemporaneous Arabic poets, which is not regarded by some critics as original in the real sense because it lacks the rigid conventionalities of Arabic classicism. As a matter of fact, we fail to find in the Arabic poetry of Ḥāfiẓ that force of expression, fluency, and artistic exuberance, rich imagery and glowing eloquence which characterise his Persian odes and which have immortalised him as the greatest lyrical poet Persia has ever produced. It is hardly necessary to point out here that the plane of Ḥāfiẓ's imaginative flights was the Persian rose-garden, in which he poured out his melodies like a sweet nightingale, but it was beyond his

¹ *Dibācha-i-Ghurratu'l-Kamāl*, p. 65, (Delhi ed.).

natural tendencies and intellectual environments to sing in the strain which the mountainous region and sandy desert of Arabia demanded. Therefore his Arabic poem appears like a rather colourless bouquet of wild flowers as compared with his blooming Persian rose-garden.

VI

MORE ABOUT THE ART OF WARĀQAT

Introductory

THE aim of the present article is to supplement my previous article on the Art of Warāqat during the Abbasid period. Some important details pertaining to the subject proper, which were left unnoticed and could not be incorporated into the said article, are dealt with here, though separately by way of supplement, which, it is hoped, will be found informative and interesting in so far as they are closely connected with the Art of Warāqat during the Caliphate.

The term *Warāqat*, though mostly restricted to transcription, bookbinding and bookselling, as has already been defined in my previous article, has a vast bearing on the different aspects of the literary activities of that age, and the students of Arabic literature and culture are well aware that there are good many particulars which constitute the promotion and cultivation of this Art, and throw ample light on the academic spirit and literary tendencies of that period. However, I have grouped together some necessary information bearing directly or

directly on the subject proper under the following heads :

1. Books written on the art of Warāqat.
2. The advent of paper.
3. The Scribes.
4. Book Trade
5. Reward for writing books and freedom of copying.
6. Conservation of books.

On the importance of *Warāqat* as a useful and indispensable art for the human society, I cannot do better than to quote the historian-Philosopher Ibn Khaldūn. While dwelling upon the chief arts and crafts which he calls *Ummahāt-us-Ṣa'�ayi* (the chief arts), Ibn Khaldūn classifies them into two groups, *viz.*, (1) *Darūri*, *i.e.*, indispensable and (2) *Sharīfah*, *i.e.*, noble. In the former he includes the arts of Agriculture, Architecture, Tailoring, Carpentry and Weaving; in the latter the arts of Warāqat, Music and Medicine, and then dilating upon each of them and their expediency, he speaks of Warāqat in the following terms :

'The art of Warāqat, with other arts subordinate thereto, is the preserver of Man's acquirements and is a guard against their being extinct. It transmits the conceptions of human mind to the distant and unseen regions and perpetuates the outcome of human thought and the sciences in books. It elevates

the grades of life to its hidden mysteries.'¹

That the art of Warāqat was still thriving in the 8th century, we learn from Ibn Khaldūn (d. 779 A.H.). His definition of the term Warāqat covers not only copying and bookbinding, but also the correction of books and codices and all other particulars pertaining thereto.¹

Now we proceed to describe under different heads some particulars à propos the art of Warāqat.

Books Written on the Art of Warāqat

As I have shown in my previous paper, Warāqat had become a thriving profession and on account of its flourishing condition great attention was paid to it. It was so popular an art that scholars devoted themselves to study its merits and details and wrote several books on it. I give here below a list of such books on Warāqat as have come to my notice :

1. نظم تدبیر التسغیر (Nazm Tadbīru't-tasfir) on bookbinding.
2. معدة الكتاب ('Umdatū'l-Kuttāb), by Amīr al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs (d. 454 A.H.), on preparing inks, cutting pens and transcription.
3. رساله في صناعة الاخبار (Risālah fī Ṣanā'at-i'l-Aḥbār), a treatise on the art of preparing inks.
4. النجوم الشارقات في عمل الميقات (An-Nujūmu'sh-Shāriqāt fī 'amal i'l-Miqāt), by Muḥammad b. Abi'l-

¹ *Muqaddamah*, p. 384 (Bulq̄ Press).

Khair al-Husainī. On preparing inks of different colours and other materials required for writing, painting, colouring, designing and ornamentation.

5. **الاقلام القديمة** (*Al-Aqlāmu'l-Qadīmah*) by Ibn u'd-Dāli. On one hundred and fifty styles of writing Arabic characters.

6. **(رساله في الخط و برى الأقلام** (*Risālah fi'l-Khaṭṭ wa bari'l-Aqlām*) by Ibnu's-Sāigh. On transcription and cutting of pens.

7. **شرح ابن وحيد على منظومة ابن البواب** (*Sharḥ Ibn Wahīd 'alā Manzūmat Ibni'l-Bawwāb*). The commentary of Ibn Wahīd on the poem of the great master artist Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. 413 A.H.). On Calligraphy.

8. **مقدمة في صناعة الخط** (*Muqaddamah fi Ṣanā'at-i'l-Khaṭṭ*), by the famous calligraphist Ibn Muqlah (d. 328 A.H.). On Calligraphy. (Incomplete.)

9. **أرجوزة** (*Urjūzah*) a short-rhymed poem by Ḥasan as-Sanjarī. On Calligraphy.

10. **أرجوزة في الخط** (*Urjūzah fi'l-Khaṭṭ*), by 'Awnu'd-Dīn Abi'l-Muẓaffar Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Wazīr (d. 560 A.H.)¹

11. **تنويق النطاقه في علم الوراقه** (*Tanwīqu'n-Niṭāqah fi 'ilm-i'l-Warāqah*). By Ibn Misk as-Sakhāwī,² a learned scholar of the 11th century (Hijrah).

12. **تحفة الرائق** (*Tuhfatu'r-Rāiq*). By Abu'l-Husain Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm at-Tamīmī, a tutor to the

¹*Kashfu'z-Zunūn*, Vol. I, p. 82.

²*Ibid.*, p. 343.

Caliph al-Muqtadir and his sons. On Calligraphy.

13. رساله في الكتابة والخط (*Risālah fi'l-Kitābti wa'l-Khaṭṭ*). By Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Thawābah (d. 277 A.H.). On transcription and Calligraphy.¹

14. كتاب الخط والقلم (*Kitābu'l Khaṭṭ wa'l-Qalam*). By Muhammad b. al-Laith al-Khaṭīb. On the pens and different kinds of writing.²

15. النجم الشاقب (*An-Najmu'th-Thāqib*). By Qudāmah b. Ja'far. A treatise written on the great artist Ibn Muqlah.³

احضاء مقاصد و اصناف الكتب في كتابات و ما يتبع ذلك من المناقح والمضارar By Shaikh 'Abdul Latif of Baghdād. On Warāqat, its benefits and disadvantages. The author was a critic of the catalogues of libraries and books.⁴

As the art of Warāqat covers a large field of different subordinate arts, these have been dealt with either singly or severally in the works mentioned above. Thus it will be seen that Nos 7 to 10 are on the art of Calligraphy, in fact an important branch of the art of Warāqat. Book No. 4 has already seen the light of publication in 1928, printed at the 'Ilmiyyah Press of Aleppo and is available in the market. Some of its contents are: the composition of colours; liquefaction of gold and silver for writing purposes; solution of gums for mixing them

¹ *Kitāb-al-Fihrist*, p. 188 (Cairo ed.).

² *Ibid.*, p. 175.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁴ *Journal of Arab Academy*, Damascus, Vol. I, p. 141.

with colours and refining the inks ; making certain inks and colouring bones, ivory, horns and bricks ; changing any colour of paper and dyeing it ; painting in gold and silver, etc. From the above contents it can easily be concluded that the subjects have been treated in a scientific manner which gives us an idea of the cultivation of these minor arts at a time when the world at large was hardly acquainted with them.

The MS. copies of Books Nos. 1 to 9 have been preserved in the library of the great Muslim savant Amīr Taimūr Pāsha at Cairo.¹

The Advent of Paper

The introduction of paper no doubt gave a new impulse to the art of Warāqat, and its manufacture, in the Islamic lands stood in bold relief for the *Warrāqīn* who availed themselves of this golden opportunity. Formerly the Parchment (Raqq) and Papyrus (Qirtās) were in vogue for writing purposes, the preparation whereof was not an easy and a convenient process, and were hardly within easy reach of the rank and file. But a large supply of paper made from cotton and linen, solved this difficult problem for the scribes and was mainly responsible for bringing a large number of books into existence. The first paper-mill was erected at

¹ *Lectures of the Arab Academy, Damascus*, Vol. I, p. 306.

Samarqand and a second one was started at Baghdād at the instance of Fadl,¹ the brother of the Ja'far al-Barmakī and the Governor of Khurāsān in 178 A.H. Others followed suit in different Islamic lands like Egypt, Yeman and Tihāmah, and ultimately other factories were established in different countries of the Near East, Spain, Persia and India. It is said that Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, the Umayyad Governor, was the first man to write on paper.² Ja'far the Barmacide is said to have replaced Parchment by paper in the state offices.³ According to a statement in As-Sam'āni, paper was only manufactured at Khurāsān in the fifth century.⁴ That the paper was generally called '*Waraq*' at Baghdād we also learn from the same author.⁵

There were several kinds of paper named after, or rather dedicated to, the different eminent persons who either ordered these kinds to be manufactured for them or patronized their quality. These were called :⁶

(1) As-Sulaimāni—from Sulaimān b. Rashīd, the treasurer of Khurāsān under Harūn ar-Rashīd.

(2) Aṭ-Ṭalḥī—from Ṭalḥa b. Ṭāhir, the second ruler of the Ṭāhirid dynasty.

(3) An-Nūhī—from Nūh, the Sāmānid ruler.

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, p. 399

² *Al-Kitābat-u wa'l-Kuttāb*, p. 38.

³ *Ansāb*, fol. 472.

⁴ For these details see *Fihrist*, p. 323, *Şubh al-A'sha*, I, pp. 475-6.

⁵ Maqrizi, *Khitāṭ*, II, p.

⁶ *Ansāb*, fol. 574.

(4) Al-Firāwnī—in allusion to the Pharo the Egyptian.

(5) Al-Ja'farī—from Ja'far the Barmacide.

(6) Aṭ-Ṭāhirī—from Ṭāhir II, the ruler of the Ṭāhirid dynasty.

There were papers of several inferior and superior qualities, like silk-paper, note-paper, strong and weak paper, smooth and ribbed paper, white and coloured paper.¹ The paper sellers were called *Warrāqīn* and also *Kāghidīs*, and in the seat of the caliphate—Baghdād—from the Harran Arch-way to the New Bridge over the Sarat Canal both sides of the road-way were occupied with the shops of paper sellers.²

Paper was made of or cut into different sizes. Generally it had four standard sizes, *viz.*, full (*jāmi'*), half (*ansāf*), quarto (*arbā'*) and octavo (*athmān*). These sizes, I think, have still been retained in our present-day sizes of the paper. Ibn Khallikān³ in his notice of an expert scribe Ḥusain b. 'Ali known as Ibn Khāzin al-Kutub (d. 502 A.H.), makes mention of two sizes of the copies of the Holy Qur'ān, *viz.*, between the rub'ah and the Jāmi' which have been translated by De Slane as Folio and Compact sizes.⁴ But I think these terms have been literally rendered, while technically they should mean 'standard' and 'quarto'. However from this description it appears that there was another parti-

¹ *Arab Civilization* by J. Hell, p. 77.

² Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 92.

³ Vol. I, p. 162.

⁴ Eng. trans. of *Ibn Khallikān*, Vol. I, p. 464.

cular size in vogue between the full or standard and the quarto sizes. The sewn parts of a book were called *Juz* (singular), *Ajzā*, (plural). Again the parts of a *Juz* were called *Kurrāsā* (sing.) or *Kurrāsāt* (pl.) which may be taken as equivalent to the English quires and folios. The similarity between the words 'Kurrāsā' and 'quires' suggests to us the plausibility of the derivation of the latter (English) word from the former (Arabic) word. In the English dictionaries the word 'quire' is said to be of old French and Low Latin origin, while in Arabic lexicons the root 'Kirs', from which 'Kurrāsā' is derived, means closely connected houses or the rings of a chain.

In this sense the 'kurrāsā' in its secondary meaning is a word for certain folios of a book sewn together. According to *Adh-Dhababī*, 'Kurrāsā' means 2 folios¹ or 4 pages but in later times it was used for 10 folios or 20 pages, every page containing 21 lines. *At-Tanukhī*² speaks of a certain volume of odes which his father committed to memory comprising 230 folios and written on the thin *Mansūrī* octavo size (أثمان منصوري لطاف). This of course may be taken as an addition to the kinds of paper which we have mentioned above.

How rough papers were polished and made use of for writing purposes, can be gleaned from *Yāqūt's*

¹ *Dhababī's* Arabic text in the Letters of Abu'l-'Alā, pp. 135-6, edited by Prof. Margoliouth.

² *Nishwār al-Muhibbāra*, I, p. 177.

notice of Ibn al-'Adīm (d. 473 A.H.), a Judge at Aleppo in the fifth century. He is reported to have narrated the fact that his father used to polish a rough paper with the solution of Zinc Oxide (isfidāj).¹

*The Scribes (*Warrāqīn*)*

We have already said about the scribes that they were employed by scholars and authors and that almost every author had his own *Warrāq* or amanuensis. In this respect it can be added that some prolific authors had several scribes to whom they used to dictate or entrusted their works to them for copying. Thus the famous Arab Philosopher Al-Kindī had several scribes, like Hasanawayh, Naftawayh, Salmawayh and others, their name sending with similar suffixes.² The famous litterateur Al-Mubarrad had his *Warrāqs* like Ibn al-Zajjāj, As-Sāsī and others.³

Among these scribes we find mention of a Muslim woman. The name of Ummu'l-Fadl Fātimah bint al-Aqra' (d. 480 A.H.) has come down to us, and we are told by As-Sam'ānī⁴ that she wrote a beautiful hand and was an adept in writing in the style of the famous Calligraphist Ibn al-Bawwāb. Her writings were so much appreciated and prized that once on writing one page in beautiful hand and

¹ *Irshad*, VI, p. 38.

² *Ibid.*, p. 89.

³ *Fihrist*, p. 365.

⁴ *Yāqūt*, VI, p. 115.

presenting it to Wazīr ‘Amīdu'l-Mulk al-Kundūrī she was rewarded one thousand Dīnārs.

It would be interesting to notice the position of *Warrāqīn* in society. In the third century A.H. the art of Warāqat had become common so much so that the scribes enjoyed no respectable position in society, but were instead looked down with contempt by men of high ranks.

The incident of a copyist serves as an illustration. 'Once I was employed,' says the scholar Abu Ḥayyān at-Tawhīdī, 'by the Buwayhid Wazir Aṣ-Ṣāḥib b. 'Abbād at his residence. I was sitting in one of the apartments of his mansion and was engaged in my work, when suddenly I found the Wazir standing before me and soon I got up to do him honour. "Sit down!" thundered the Wazir, "for the menial scribes are not expected to stand up in our honour," he said scornfully.'¹ This of course shows the mentality of the rich people towards this labouring class on the one hand, while on the other hand it reveals to us the fact how poor scribes were treated at that time as *commonality* by the aristocratic class. However it was all due to the multifarious array of the copyists and to the cheap popularity of this profession as well, that the *Warrāqīn*, among whom there were scholars of great repute, sometimes received such ignominious treatment at the hands of their

¹ *Yāqūt*, V, p. 392.

patrons. Still, however, this class of the scribes was quite indispensable to the ever-increasing demand of producing books, and the same Abu Ḥayyān tells us that the profession of Warāqat at Baghdād in the third century was still flourishing.¹ There were self-respecting men among the scribes and we possess an anecdote of 'Allān the Shu'ūbite scribe related by Ibn 'Abdūs al-Jahshiyārī.

Once he was recommended to the Wazir Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid al-Aḥawal by some of his friends, who was ordered to bring the man for copying. When the scribe was brought to work at the residence of the Wazir, the latter appeared on the scene and everyone present there got up in his honour except the scribe. 'How impolite on the part of this Warrāq ?' muttered the Wazir. 'Can you charge me with impoliteness,' retorted the scribe, 'while people come to learn manners from me ?' ' You have called me,' he added, ' to stay here for your own work without any request on my part. I have not come to ask anything from you, nor had I special liking in coming to you. I am writing for you on payment and it would have been well had I not done so.' The proud scribe returned forthwith to his home and since that time he swore that he would not go to the residence of any individual and write a single letter for him.²

¹ Yāqūt, V, p. 393.

² Ibid., V, p. 67.

Among the copyists there were learned men and scholars like Abu'l-Farj b. al-Jawzī, Ibn 'Abd ad-Dā'īm al-Maqdisī, Ibn al-Khāzin and Ibn al-Wahīd who were held in high esteem for their vast learning and ripe scholarship.

The Book Trade

Book trade had become a most thriving profession under the caliphate and was one of the most useful avocations which prompted every layman as well as scholar to adopt it. The *Warrāqīn* or booksellers were not always the ordinary book-dealers, but most of them were scholars and men of letters. Their occupation not only provided them with livelihood but even afforded great facility in their literary pursuits. They had the privilege of utilizing their own collections for their studies, which enabled them to become prolific writers of books. The famous geographer Yāqūt (d. 626 A.H.) was a book-dealer and it was due to this profession that he was able to produce such voluminous works as *Mu'jamu'l Buldān* and *Irshād al-'Arīb*; the former published long ago in European and Cairene editions in 8 volumes, the latter edited by Prof. Margoliouth in 7 volumes in recent years. Another versatile *Warrāq* was Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. an-Nadīm whose *Kitāb al-Fihrist* covers a large field of bibliography, biography, and history of different religions. This has also been published in German and Cairene

editions.

The book trade was not restricted to mere professional traders, but most of the learned men and scholars who had a passion for collecting books, were very often disposing of them in exchange for other books or were compelled to sell them out in their adverse circumstances. The learned divine Abu Ḥātim as-Sijistānī, the collector of a large number of books, was doing business in books.¹ Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb ash-Shirāzī (d. 810 A.H.), the author of the Arabic lexicon *Al-Qāmūs*, who is said to have collected so many camel-loads of books, used to dispose them off in his impecuniosity.² A very touching account of the sale of books in adversity is given by Yāqūt who was an eye-witness to it. A literary man Ibn Ḥamdūn (547-608 A.H.) who was a lover of books and had collected a large number of them within fifty years, was placed in straitened circumstances on his dismissal from the high post of Governorship. He was seen by Yāqūt selling his books with tearful eyes and aching heart just as he was parting with his bosom friends.³

A learned Grammarian of Granada (Spain) Muḥammad b. Balīsh al-'Abdārī (d. 753 A.H.) had amassed great wealth by selling books (*at-takassub bil kutub*).⁴

How the trade in books was in a flourishing con-

¹ Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 265.

² Yāqūt, III, p. 210.

³ *Bughya*, p. 117.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

dition at that time is borne out by the fact that even the blind men used to sell books. They were in the know of the prices of books and could produce any book out of their stock whenever there was a demand from a customer. The Hanbalite scholar 'Alī b. Aḥmad Zainu'd-Dīn al-Āmīdī possessed a large number of books and in spite of his blindness, when asked to bring out any book, he would repair to his library and take out the particular volume of a desired book as if he had just put it on the shelf. He also knew the price of each book. He made a coil of a scrap of paper into a letter of Abjad according to its numerical value, and putting it on the cover of a book and pasting another scrap on it he pressed it so that the letter was embossed on the title and was felt by the hand. Thus he could tell his customers the price of the book.¹

Another blind scholar was Aḥmad b. Surūr as-Sumustarī (d. 517 A.H.), a learned traditionist who was an expert in books and their prices.²

The Shāfi'iite scholar Shafī' b. 'Alī al-Kinānī, a poet and litterateur (d. 730 A.H.) of Egypt, was an expert in the prices of books and though a blind man he could tell at once, after taking the books into his hand, their prices as well as the date of their purchase.³

Even the females used to know the prices

¹ *Nakṭu'l-Himyān*, p. 206

² *Ibid.*, p. 98.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 163-4.

of books. The wife of the above-named Shāfi'iite scholar was well informed about the prices of books. She knew the price of each and every book and started selling of books in her miserable plight after the sad demise of her husband who left behind 18 large collections.¹

How the passion for books had reached its climax can well be imagined from the fact that people were always on the look-out for books and one had to be ready to purchase any book he required immediately, before any other book hunter might turn up to take it away on fancy price. Ibn Abi Uṣaibī'a, the author of *Tabaqatul-Atibbā* (d. 668 A.H.), was once out to purchase from an auctioneer the commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias on the Aristotle's *Acroasis*. The bargain was settled at 120 Dīnārs which he went to fetch from home. But when he returned with money, he was shocked to learn that the book was already sold out to a man from Khurāsān for 300 Dīnārs along with certain other books.²

Reward for Writing Books and Freedom of Copying

As we have already seen, the advent of paper, the flourishing condition of the copying profession and the book trade, contributed a great deal towards the production of a huge mass of books and their

¹ *Nakū'l-Himyān*, p. 164.

² *Tabaqāt*, I, p. 46.

ever-increasing and multiplying number. But there were other factors also which, as largely responsible for the preponderating number of books in the Islamic lands, must be taken into consideration. Those were the following :

- (1) Encouragement of the authors by rewarding them for writing books.
- (2) Freedom of copying books by free access to the public and private libraries.

Under both heads we propose to give some interesting details.

(1) Encouragement and Reward to Authors

The caliphs and princes were ever ready to help the writers of books who were richly rewarded for their literary productions. The authors either dedicated their works to a Prince, a Wazir, an Amir or an Official, which brought them good fortunes. We find innumerable instances of such princely donations to the authors in the Arabic biographical literature. The famous litterateur Al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 250 A.H.), of Baṣrah, dedicated his book *Kitāb-ul-Hayawān* to Muḥammad b. ‘Abdul-Malik and received a reward of 5,000 Dīnārs. His famous work *Al-Bayānu-wat-Tabyīn* was dedicated to Ibn Abi Dā’ūd who paid him a similar amount. His *Kitābu’z-Zirā’at wan-Nakhli* was presented to Ibrāhim b. al-‘Abbās as-Ṣūli and was rewarded with

5,000 Dīnārs.¹

Al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 214 A.H.), a learned scholar, wrote his work *Gharību'l-Muṣannaf* and presented it to Amīr 'Abdullah b. Ṭāhir and got 1,000 Dīnārs as a reward. Over and above that a monthly stipend of 10,000 Dirhams was granted to him to meet his daily expenses. This kept the author under perpetual obligation of the Prince and since that time he never presented his work to any other prince.²

The Wazir Ibnu'l-'Alqamī conferred a considerable boon on Aş-Şaghānī the lexicographer for compiling his lexicon *Al-'Ubāb*. Ibn Abi'l-Hadid was also rewarded by the same Wazir for writing his commentary on the *Nahju'l-Balāghat* of 'Ali the Caliph.³

The dedication of the great work *Al-Aghānī* to Al-Hakam the Umayyad ruler of Spain, and his reward of 1,000 gold Dīnārs to the author,⁴ are too well known to need any mention. It was the same prince to whom Qādi Abu Bakr presented his commentary on the work of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam and received a handsome reward.⁵

It is related of the famous Scientist Al-Birūni that when he composed his monumental work *Qānūn-Mas'ūdī* (Canonicus Masudicus), Prince Mas'ūd, the heir and son of Sultān Mahmūd of

¹ *Yāqūt*, VI, p. 75.

² *Al-Fakhrī*, p. 248 (Cairo).

³ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 163.

⁴ & ⁵ *Maqqarī*, I, p. 180 (Cairo).

Ghaznī, conferred upon him an elephant-load of silver which he declined to accept,¹ probably out of self-respect which was quite becoming a learned scholar of his type.

But there were scholars who refused to dedicate their books to any rich man. Such was Abu Għālib Tammām, the lexicographer of Cordova, who flourished in the first half of the 5th century A.H. When he wrote his *Talqīḥ u'l-'Ain* on Arabic lexicography, the Amir Mujāhid al-Āmirī of Spain offered him one thousand Dīnārs, provided the book was dedicated to him. But the author declined this princely offer, saying, the Amir's request cannot be complied with, even if he were ready to spend the riches of the whole world, as the book was not compiled particularly for him. When the prince was informed of this he admired the audacity of the author and ordered the amount with an additional sum to be paid to him, in spite of his not mentioning the Amir's name in his book.²

We are informed of certain scholars who dedicated their works voluntarily to some celebrities out of personal regard. The Christian physician Jibrāīl b. Bukhtishū' dedicated his Pharmacopia, *Al-Kāfi*, to the learned Wazir Şāhib b. 'Abbād.³

The learned scholar and Wazir Qādī Akram al-

¹ *Yāqūt*, VI, p. 308; *Bughya*, p. 20.

² *Ibid.*, VI, p. 244; *Bughya*, p. 209.

³ *Tabaqāt-u'l-Āṭibbā*, I, p. 146.

Qiftī used to receive presents of books from their celebrated authors who took pride in presenting their works to him. The learned bibliophile Yāqūt when compiling his great geographical dictionary, *Mu'jamu'l-Buldān*, wrote a copy in his own hand and sent it to Al-Qiftī as a present.¹

The learned Wazir Niẓāmu'l-Mulk whenever received present from the learned men these were in the form of books which were afterwards deposited in the library of the Niẓāmiyya College²

(2) *Copying of Books*

In almost all the public and private libraries, dotted all over the Islamic countries, people were allowed free access. This made easy the task of copying and multiplying books. The scribes and booksellers availed themselves of this opportunity and transcribed books on payment. This gave a great impulse to the art of Warāqat which was carried to perfection with great enthusiasm throughout the length and breadth of the Muslim empire. In some public as well as private libraries, paper, pen and ink were supplied for copying books free of charge, as it was done at the big libraries at Cairo,³ Rāmharmuz,⁴ Karkar⁵ and Mawsil.⁶ In some state libraries a special amount was set apart

¹ *Mu'jamu'l-Buldān*, Vol. I, p. 12 (Cairo).

² Subkī, *Tabaqāt*, Vol. IV, p. 29.

³ Maqrīzī, II, p. 334 (Cairo).

⁵ Yāqūt, Vol. V, p. 467.

⁴ *Al-Maqdīsī*, Bibl. Geog. III, 413.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 419-20.

for this expenditure and formed one of the items of the annual budget.¹

There were several scribes and calligraphists attached to every public or private library for copying books. They either made copies of books already in possession of the library, or transcribed other books for the library. Thus we read that there were 180 scribes at the great library of Banū 'Ammār at Tripolis (Syria) out of whom 30 were constantly at work day and night.² In the library of Abu'l-Fidā, the historian, at Hamāt there were several scribes.³ The same was the case with the other libraries at Cairo, Rāmharmuz, Karkar, Mawsil and Spain. The same custom was prevalent in the libraries of private persons like Al-Wāqidi (d. 208 A.H.) of Baghdād,⁴ Caliph Al-'Azīz of Egypt,⁵ Abu Muṭrif of Spain⁶ and others.

The pious act of making Waqf a book or a library to any place of sanctity or a charitable institution, like Mosque, Madrasahs, Hospitals, Serais, Ribāṭs (monasteries) and Mausoleums,⁷ was no less responsible for the accumulation of a large number of books. Besides the learned scholars, who bequeathed their books to their co-religionists on their

¹ *Maqrīzī*, II, p. 335.

² *Ibn al-Furāt*, fol. 36 V.

³ *Muḥāḍarātu'l-Majma'u'l-Ilmi*, Vol. I, p. 265.

⁴ *Maqrīzī*, II, p. 235.

⁵ *Fihrist*, p. 144.

⁶ *Ibn Bashkuwal, Aṣ-Ṣilah*, I, pp. 304-5.

⁷ *Nakṭ u'l-Himyān*, p. 238; *Tabaqātū'l-Atībbā*, I, p. 300; II, p. 155; *Al-Qiftī*, p. 15; *Ibn Khallikān*, I, p. 69.

death-bed,¹ there were scribes and writers who wrote books and made them Waqf in the charitable institutions. Of the latter we find innumerable instances. Moreover, it had become a fashion among the authors to deposit their works into some library generally attached to some grand mosque or a big Madrasah.

Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. 'Abdul Karīm al-Ḥārithī (d. 599 A.H.), who made an abridgement of *Al-Aghānī* in 10 volumes, wrote a copy of the work in his own hand and made it Waqf in the grand mosque of Damascus.² Ibn Khairān, the officer-in-charge of the correspondence department at Egypt under Al-Muṣṭansīr, had sent to Bağhdād two volumes of his poetical works to be deposited there in the *Dāru'l-'Ilm*, the library of Sābur's academy.³ The Nestorian physician Jibrail (d. 396 A.H.), who wrote a Pharmacopia on medicines, made Waqf a copy of it to the same library.⁴

Conservation of Books

The preponderance of books and their colossal collections in the innumerable libraries and academies necessitated their preservation and the Muslim bibliophiles were not unaware of the ways

¹ *Yāqūt*, I, p. 252.

² *Tabaqātū'l-Atībba*, Vol. II, p. 190.

³ *Yāqūt*, Vol. I, p. 242.

⁴ *Tabaqātū'l-Atībba*, Vol. I, p. 146.

and means of preserving books from spoliation by worms, climatic effects and ravages of time. Generally the books were preserved by rinsing them with the germicidal powders, as in our own times, and sometimes by burning some fragrant drugs and giving their smoke to books. About one way of removing from books bad smell through damp or water, we learn from an incident related of a scholar's book collection, Ibn ad-Dahan, a grammarian of Mawsil (d. 469 A.H.), that when he left Baghdād for Damascus, his books which were sent to him there after some time, had become wet and caught dampness giving a bad smell. This owner at last purchased some 30 lbs. of *Ladhan*¹ (Ladanum), burnt it and gave the smoke to his books. But unfortunately his eyes caught the smoke which resulted in his total blindness, as the gum proved fatal to the eyesight.²

We have an anecdote related in Yāqūt's *Dictionary of Learned Men*³ to the effect that one Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Tāhir Abu Mansūr, the librarian of the Sābur's academy at Baghdād, was befooled by his assistant Ibn Ḥamid who once jestingly told the former that the books of the library were eaten by worms and that he should at once see the Sharif al-Murtadā and ask from him the medicine for killing these germs.

¹ Ladanum is a gum which exudes from a species of cistus Eng. trans. of *Ibn Khallikān*, Vol. I, p. 576, note 3.

² *Safadī Nakt*, pp. 158-9.

³ Vol. V, p. 359.

Conclusion

From the above particulars and details it will be seen that the art of Warāqat had become most important and an indispensable occupation of the whole Muslim nation of that age and thus it rightly deserved the appellation of one of the 'Chief Arts' (*Ummahāt us-Šanāyi'*) as given by the historian Ibn Khaldūn. This art continued to develop with ardent love and consuming passion by the Muslim scholars and savants and their unflinching devotion and indefatigable endeavours kept it in flourishing condition from the Second to the Ninth century of Hijrah.

In conclusion we again quote the learned philosopher-historian Ibn Khaldūn who gives us in a nutshell the idea of the development and cultivation of this art during the bloom of the Arab civilization. He says :—

" The sea of civilization and culture was surging in the Islamic states in every country which expanded the empire ; Sciences were cultivated ; the art of transcription and bookbinding excelled ; the royal palaces and treasures were filled up with books which had no parallel ; people of different towns vied with each other in collecting books. But when the system of Islamic Government disintegrated, all these diminished and with disintegration of the caliphate all the seminaries of Bağhdād vanished and disappeared. Then the seat of the art of trans-

cription and calligraphy was transferred to Egypt and Cairo where these are still flourishing to the present day."¹

¹ *Muqaddamah*, p. 397 (Bulāq).

VII

THE TRIBULATIONS OF INDIA

(*A hitherto neglected source of Aurangzib's history*)

AMONG the rulers of India, Aurangzib is the only monarch of whom a great deal of historical literature has been brought into existence in different languages at different times. Many sources of the Emperor's history have been unearthed and brought to light in our own times, and still many more are awaiting publication. In this connection it would be interesting to know that a Persian Mathnawī named آشوب هند or 'Troubles of India,' dealing with the 'Wars of Succession between Aurangzib and his brothers,' has been preserved in manuscripts and even in a printed edition; and as far as my knowledge goes, it has never been utilized by the contemporary chroniclers, nor does it find a place in the modern bibliographies of Aurangzib's history.¹

The Manuscripts

Manuscripts of this Mathnawī are rarely found in the libraries of India and Europe. There is a

¹ Sarkar's *Aurangzib* and Najib Ashraf's Urdu Introduction to the latest edition of Aurangzib's *Letters* contain such bibliographies.

manuscript of a later date in the library of the British Museum, Ad. 26235. It has been noticed by Rieu in his catalogue.¹ Measuring 10" × 5½" the MS. comprises 6 folios or 120 pages, every page containing 18 couplets. Written in Nasta'liq character the MS. belongs to the 18th century. India Office possesses another MS. in its library. An incomplete MS. is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Besides these two complete and one incomplete MSS., a fourth MS. of earlier date has lately been acquired by a friend of mine² and it is proposed to notice the same and to examine its contents in the present article.³ At the same time it is rather strange to find that while very few copies of both are available in manuscript, two printed copies of it exist in India, the one is preserved in the Āṣafīyyah Library of Hyderabad, in the Persian History Section, No. 905, dated 1300 A.H. The author's name is given in the catalogue as 'Bihishti Shirāzī'.⁴ The other copy dated A.D. 1883 exists in the Public Library at Lahore, which is probably a copy of the same printed edition, as the date 1300 A.H. synchronizes with the A.D. 1883.

¹ Catalogue of the Persian MS. in the British Museum, Vol. II, pp. 689-90.

² Mr. A. D. Pathān (Alig.), Mosque Superintendent, Junagadh.

³ It would be a vain attempt to enquire for MS. copies as the catalogues of almost all the important libraries of India and Europe have been thoroughly searched for.

⁴ *Fihrist-i-Kutubkhāna-i-Āṣafīyya*, Vol. I, p. 252.

Our Manuscripts

This small volume comprises 174 pages and measures 8" × 5". There are 15 couplets on every page. The couplets or verses number 2,570. Every page is ruled in black and red lines. The headings are all written in red ink. The MS. is written in Nasta'liq character and the writings are clear and beautiful. Some corrections have been made here and there, which are shown on the margins in a different hand. Probably some reader might have collated the MS. with another copy and noted down the variants. At the end of each page a catchword is supplied for reference to the next page, but there is no pagination. The name of the book does not appear on the title page which is blank, but it occurs in the last couplet which runs as follows :

شد این نامه از همت دوستان مسمی باشوب هندوستان

The date of transcription and the name of the scribe are recorded at the end of the book in the following postscript :

کاتب الحروف محمد حسین - بیست و هشتم شهر درج المرجب
سنه ١٠٩٤ هجری تحریر یافت

(i.e., Written by Muḥammad Ḥusain, on the 28th Rajab, 1097 A. H.)

Date of Composition

The date of composition is nowhere given in the

book, but it can be accurately fixed between 1068 and 1069 A.H.. as we shall observe later on. Thus it is obvious that the present MS. was written only 28 years after the composition of the book. At the end the words "ایں کتاب دو، رے رائی" appear on the margin, which shows that the MS. was in possession of one Dulah Rai, a learned Brahma-Kshatriya of the Desai family of Junagadh, who flourished over a century ago.

The Author

Very little is known about the author of this book except his *nom-de-plume* 'Bihishtī' which occurs in the following verses :

- (۱) خدایا بہشتی نناخوان نست کیا ہے ضعیفے زبستان نست
- (۲) بہشتی کند گر صفاتش بیان جو تیغش ز پولاد باید زمان
- (۳) بہشتی مددح امام زمن جو صاحب سخن کرد ختم سخن

Nor do we find his name mentioned in the biographies of the Persian poets. From the printed edition we come to know that he belonged to Shirāz and was a Perisan by birth. As to his being a follower of Shi'ite school and a believer in the twelve Imāms we are informed in the following couplets :

علی ولی اولیا دا دلیل نبی دا وصی و خدارا وکیل
بعد امامات اثنا عشر مرا ساز نخل بیان بارود

From the following verses the author appears to have been a court poet of the Mughal Prince Murād

Bakhsh for whom he used to compose panegyrics. He says :

بوصف حسینان مده فرصت که از فکر بیهوده در زعمن
مراد جهانست چون سرودم بخود کرد لطفش نناگسترم

From the words "وصف حسینان" or appreciation of beauties we conclude that the poet used to compose Odes or Ghazals, a popular theme of all the Persian poets. This is supported by the fact that he also left his 'Kulliyāt' or poetical works, a copy of which exists in manuscript in the Edinburgh Library.

The author, being a protégé of Murād, is eloquent in the praise of the latter—his master—whom he names as 'Murād-i-Jahān' (desire of the world), sometimes 'Murād-i-Du'ālam' (desire of both the worlds), as for instance :

ذآل تم شاه کیتی ستان نیامدشمی چون مراد جهان

In the prologue he has devoted a special chapter to Murād, as is generally the case with the Mathnawī writers, to praise the ruling princes of the time. But the poet, like his other confreres, indulges in undue appreciation of the prince ; as for instance, we are told, for the first time only, about the religiosity of Murād in the following couplets :

ز عصیان گریزان ز طاعت قریں بود بے سخن شاه دنیا و دین
دلش غنچہ گلشن معرفت ز شاهان ندارد کسے این صفت

شب و روز ب سنت مصطفیٰ بھر کار شرعش بود دھنا
جنان شرع دارد بعهدشدواج ز ادبیات باطل ستاند خراج

This is hardly supported by history which, on the contrary, informs us that Murād was of soldierly nature and a man of haughty temperament. He was a pleasure-seeker mostly passing his time in unlawful indulgences. Hence there is no justification in saying that he was a staunch follower of the Prophet's Sunnah and acted in every matter according to the dictates of Shari'at.

The author says he wrote within a decade (of years) several books on his master and the present Mathnawī is not his first literary production :

ز احوال آپ قبلہ راستان ز یکقرن کفتم بے داستان
کنوں فکر تصنیف دیگر کنم ز آشوب کیتی سخن سر کنم

The author claims to be an eye-witness to all the wars and events that came to pass between the sons of Shāh Jahān during the fraternal contest for the throne of Delhi, and while comparing his narrative with the great Persian epic Shāh Nāmah, he boasts over Firdawsī who was not an eye-witness to the wars and deeds of his heroes. He writes :

بیسے سال فردوسی خوش کلام کہ بادش زیزدان درود وسلام
همه دزم شہنامہ نا دیده کفت بجا تے کهر طبعش الماس سفت
من این دزمہارا همه دیده ام ز کس همچو افسانه تشنیده ام

There are certain allusions in the book which refer to the author's stay in Gujarāt. It is certain that he was a court poet of Murād who was, as is well known, at that time in Ahmedābād where he had celebrated his coronation assuming the title of Murawwiju'd-Dīn. Referring to a prediction made by Khwāja Nasīruddin Tūsi, the author says that he received such and such news from the pilgrims who went from Gujarāt to Mecca and had recently returned therefrom. From both the facts it can be inferred that if not living there permanently, his sojourn at Ahmedābād must have been at least for a period during which his master was staying there.

Date of Composition of the Book

No date of composition has been given in the text but from certain historical facts narrated therein, it can be deduced that the book was composed between 1068 and 1070 A.H.; firstly, because it does not make any mention of Murād's death except his imprisonment in the Gwalior fort, which took place on 4th Shawwāl 1068 A.H., and secondly, at the end it contains an account of the arrest and execution of Dara which happened on 21st Dhilhijj 1069 A.H. These facts clearly establish that the book was composed between 1068 and 1070 A.H., long before the death of Murād and soon after Dārā's execution.

List of Contents

From the different headings in the present MS. the table of contents is prepared and given below :

- I. A hymn to God and the praise of the Prophet.
- II. An appreciation of the Emperor of the World (*i.e.*, Murād.).
- III. In praise of Shāh Jahān and division of the provinces among his four sons.
- IV. Shah Jahān's illness.
- V. Dara preparing for war against Shujā' and sending his son to Bengal to fight with the latter.
- VI. A story by way of illustration.
- VII. Murād receiving information of Shāh Jahān's illness and slaying his Wazir Alī Naqī.
- VIII. Siege and capture of the fortress of the port of Surat and plunder of great wealth and riches through the tactics of Shahbāz.
- IX. Murād celebrating his coronation in the province of Gujarāt.
- X. Dara sending his son Sulaimān Shikoh against Shujā'; victorious return of the former for the first time.
- XI. Murād leading his forces from Ahmedābād to Ujjain and coming across Aurangzib on the way.

- XII. Murād and Aurangzīb meeting together.
- XIII. Aurangzīb and Murād leading attack against the Mahārāja (Jaswant Singh), and defeat of the latter.
- XIV. Both the princes leading their armies *en route* Samugarh to Akbarābād.
- XV. Aurangzīb and Murād gaining victory over Dārā and flight of the latter.
- XVI. Capture of Agra Fort and Murād taken prisoner by Aurangzīb.
- XVII. Dārā's flight from Lahore on account of the deceitful letters received by his officers.
- XVIII. Shujā's flight, Aurangzīb's victory and demobilisation of the army.
- XIX. Dārā marching from Ahmedābād to Ajmer as planned by the Mahārāja, consequently his defeat, his flight third time, his arrest by Jiwan, a zamindar of Lahore, and finally his execution.

Under the above captions the author has divided the contents of his book and it is to be noticed that he has not exercised his power of poetical imagination or exaggeration in describing the events.

Historical Value of the Book

The author being a contemporary writer, his information is partly based on his personal knowledge and partly on the reports and news he received through different sources. As far as the fratricidal

wars are concerned, his work deserves consideration in relation to other chronicles of the period. Although most of the events described in the book are corroborated by the chronicles of later date, yet the author's general claim as to his being an eye-witness to all the wars between the brothers cannot be admitted. It is true that he was attached to Murād's court and as such he might have witnessed the events in which his master took part, but how could he be expected to have been present at all the events that took place in other parts of the country ? It is but natural that he might have gathered such information either from the news agents (Pārcha-Nawīs) or from the popular rumours. Nevertheless the author's narrative is mostly accurate in corroboration with other authentic accounts.

The Author's Opinion about Aurangzib

Although the author was a servant and an adherent of Murād, and as such he is naturally expected to adopt an antagonistic attitude towards Aurangzib, yet throughout the book he has refrained very carefully from pronouncing his opinion against the prince. While speaking of Shāh Jahān's division of the provinces among his four sons, the author draws an analogy between them and the four Righteous Caliphs of the early Islamic period. He says :

خلف بودش از دولت ذوالمن چو اصحاب خیرالبشر چاد تن

بدارا شکوه جهان اقتدار سریوش سزاوار صدیق واد
 آئین فاروق سلطان شجاع ز خودشید رایش فروزان شعاع
 همی بود شهزاده اورنگ زیب چو عثمان سراپا حیا و شکیب
 ز سلطان مراد از نکو اختری عیان شوکت و صولت حیدری

It is worthy of note that Aurangzib is compared with 'Uthmān the third Caliph, which betrays the mental attitude of our Shi'ite author towards the prince, while he compares his patron Murād with 'Ali the son-in-law of the Prophet, giving him preference over others and thus paying his homage to the sanctimonious Imām. However, the comparison is incongruous and inapposite and the author seems to have concealed his prejudice and religious rancour against Aurangzib beneath this garb. At certain places in the book he casts his aspersions against the prince but he is so cautious and guarded as to put the words in the mouths of others. We come across a single line in the book in which he has openly censured Aurangzib for bribing Ilahwardī Khān, the general of Shujā, for making him his partisan :

چواکثر فتوحات اورنگ زیب

بسحر و فسون بود و مکر و فریب

Notwithstanding this he admires the foresight and practical wisdom of Aurangzib. He pays a tribute to the prince when he says :

ز تدبیر و فرهنگ اورنگ شاه که از کودکی داده بودش الله

Likewise the author, while dwelling on the imprisonment of Murād and comparing him with Aurangzīb, observes that a ruler having had several enemies around him is justified when he is forced to employ strategic tactics :

شمی دا که بسیار باشد عدو به نیرنگ و افسون کند کار او
 کند زادہ شاه شاهنشہی کر از کار خود باشدش آکھی
 نه آنکس که مانند سلطان مراد ز انجام کارش نیارد بیاد
 بدان سان که دستم تھوڑنداشت سکندر ز تختش علم بر فراشت

While speaking of the country running desolate from the river Attock to the Deccan after the arrest of Murād, the author's observation regarding Aurangzīb is significant :

مگر بعد ازین نیت شهر یار جهان دا کند سر بسر عیش زار
 بخیر است چو نیت بادشاه چو جوهر ز فولاد دوید کیا

Although the author has evinced great solicitude for his master on account of his personal attachment with the latter and has lavishly praised him for his bounty, bravery and manly courage, yet he does not think him worthy and capable of being a ruler and an administrator. In this respect he entertains a very high opinion about Aurangzīb.

Aurangzīb sends a message to Murād inviting him to fight a decisive battle with Jaswant Singh, the

partisan of Dārā, and promises him on Dāra's defeat the possession of the vast Indian Empire. On receiving the message Murād proceeds from Ahmedābād, building castles in the air and thinking that after Dārā's overthrow he will ascend the throne of Delhi:

مکان اینکه دارا چو باید شکست بر او رنگ دھلی بخواهد نشست

Here the author like a real statesman remarks :

ندانست با آن همه رای و هوش که بی نیش کس را ندادند نوش
چه خوش گفت زند تنک مایه که هر کار دا هست پیرایه

He strikes a note of alarm at the incapability and corruption of the low-bred ministers and mean officers in Murād's camp :

بود از وزیر اس دوات و قلم زشه عدل و تدبیر و فوج و حشم
چو ارکان دولت اراذل بود حق پادشاه جمله باطل بود
بنوی که بود از مراد جهان شود شرح آن در مجلس بیان

Although Murād is eulogised by the poet for leading invasion against Jagat Singh and for his expeditions to Balkh and Badakhshān, yet he is not considered worthy of ascending the 'golden throne' and wearing the 'Imperial Crown'. He is censured for his impolitic move in strengthening the hands of his rival Aurangzib :

بالآخر سپهر بیش شاد شد که فرمان ده احمدآباد شد
ولیکن شمشناه با عقل و دای همه لطف و احسان بخلق خدای

ندانست این نکته دلپذیر که کار شبان نیست تیار شیر
زاولاد هر کس که بخت آورد است همان لائق تاج و تخت زرد است
بود دور از شیوه خسروی که دعوی کردد قوی

The author has narrated some incidents in the Mathnawī which are not found in other historical accounts. As for instance :

1. When Dārā was arrested at Lahore, his daughter fell on her knees before Malik Jīwan, imploring him to release her father but the impudent wretch paying no heed to her entreaties gave a slap on her tender face.

2. At the time of Dārā's execution his murderers offered him a cup of poison which he refused to drink.

3. On the fourth day after his coronation Aurangzīb appeared on the balcony of the Palace and ordered his Bakhshies or paymasters to dismiss all the old servants from the army and to recruit new ones :

چودوز چهادم گذشت از جلوس رخ لشکر از درد شد آبنوس
بو آمد چو بمنظار خاص و عام بفرمود با بخشیان عظام
که باید سپاه جدیدی همه شوند از قدیمی جدا هچو مه

By the old servants the men of the armies of Shāh Jahān, Dārā and Murād are meant :—

ز شاهجهان و ز داراشکوه ز سلطان مراد تهود بژوه

سپه هر قدر هست در هر طرف نمایند از نوکری بر طرف .

How this dismissal created a commotion among the people and thousands of men were deprived of their daily bread, we are told in the following lines :

بسے دا ہم از نوکری دور ساخت

ھہ صبح شان شام دیجور ساخت

بعهدش پریشان و بے دوزگار

نشستند چندیں هزاران هزار

ز اولاد صاحب قران ھیچ شاہ

نود این چنین مهربان با سپاه

Subsequently the author praying that God may grant justice and generosity to Aurangzib so that the people may live in peace, reproves the Emperor for his love of wealth and riches and proposes to remain himself as silent spectator, without uttering word, watching the trend of events :

خدایش دهد عدل و خلق و سخا که آسوده باشند خاق خدا

شہی: را که در دل بود مهر زد چو زر دولتش رو دهد یکدگر

از آن ماجرا دم نباید زدن به یعنیم که آخر چه خواهد شدن

This incident is related at a time when Murād was a prisoner at Gwalior, Shujā' had fled away, and Dārā had already met his tragic fate, and all the servants in their armies were gathered together in

the camp of Aurangzib. The authenticity of this story can be questioned inasmuch as it is not corroborated by any historical account of this period. However, believing it to be literally true, it cannot be considered an unwise step on the part of the Emperor to drive away the partisans and adherents of his rivals, and therefore professed enemies, in order to guard himself against the dire consequences that might ensue in future. In fact this diplomatic move of the Emperor must elicit an appreciation of his political sagacity and farsightedness with which he was naturally gifted.

In conclusion, we may observe that this Mathnawī can be utilized with some advantage to know the details of the Wars of Succession, which to a great extent are based on the personal observations of the author. It may be taken as a contemporary contribution and an addition to the early sources of the history of Aurangzib, which has not hitherto been brought to light.

Translation of the Persian Couplets quoted above

I. With the encouragement of my friends I named this book *The Tribulations of India*.

II. O God ! 'Bihishti' is Thy eulogiser, a weak blade of grass from Thy garden.

If ' Bihishti ' were to speak of His attributes, he should have his tongue made of steel.

'Bihishtī' in praise of the Imām of the time, concluded his speech like a master-poet.

III. 'Alī the friend (of God) and a guide to the saints, the heir of the Prophet and intercessor to God.

O God ! in lieu of the praise of the twelve Imāms make the tree of my speech fruitful.

IV. O God ! do not grant me leisure for singing in praise of the beauties, a fruitless task which bothers me.

As I have got a patron like Murād, his kindness has made me his panegyrist.

V. In the House of the world-conquering Tīmūr none has come out like Murād.

VI. Abstaining from sins and engaged in prayers is the King of the World and the Faith.

His heart is a blossom from the garden of mysticism, a quality hardly possessed by any other king.

Day and night acting according to the ordinances of the Prophet. The Shari'at (the common law of Islam) is always his guiding-star.

Shari'at has so much come into vogue in his time that it is taking tribute from the false faiths.

VII. About the memoirs of that 'resort of the righteous' (*i.e.*, Murād) I have narrated several episodes during a decade, and now I am contemplating to compose another book and to write about the turbulence of the world.

VIII. The sweet-tongued Firdawṣī (may peace be on him) has described the wars in his *Shāh Nāmah* during thirty years without being himself an eye-witness to them, and (yet) he has strung diamonds together instead of pearls. (But) I have myself witnessed all these wars and not that I learnt them as hearsay from other people.

IX. By the grace of God he has four sons like the four companions of the Prophet.

The all-powerful Dārā is worthy of the throne like Abu Bakr the Truthful.

On the model of Fārūq is Sultān Shujā' whose reason is a brilliant ray from the sun of Al-Fārūq.

In the same way the Prince Aurangzīb is all-shyness and fortitude like 'Uthmān.

In Sultān Murād the pomp and glory of Haidar ('Alī) is manifest.

X. Most of the conquests of Aurangzīb were through treason and strategy.

XI. By that wisdom and policy with which God hath gifted Aurangzīb from his very boyhood.....

XII. A King who has several enemies to encounter may deal with them treacherously.

The son of a king is fit to rule only if he is thoroughly conversant with the art of government.

No man, like Sultān Murād, is unmindful of his tragic fate.

In the same way, when Rustam had not the

valour, Alexander gained victory over him.

XIII. But hereafter the good intention of the Emperor (Aurangzib) might transform the world into the happiest land.

When the intention of a king is best, grass can grow from steel like its substance.

XIV. Thinking that after Dārā's defeat he will ascend the throne of Delhi.

XV. But in spite of his wisdom he never thought that nobody can achieve success without undergoing hardship.

A poor wretch hath well said that 'there is a different way for carrying out every task.'

XVI. The inkstand and pen are possessed by the ministers, and justice, diplomacy, and militia by the kings.

But when the ministers are low-bred people, the rights of the rulers are all set at naught. The same was the case with Murād, which has become the topic of every assemblage.

XVII. Eventually through divine grace he (Murād) became the ruler of Ahmedābād.

But the wise and reasonable Emperor, who was benevolent to the people, could not remember this popular adage that: 'it is not the business of a shepherd to look after the lion.'

From amongst the sons whoever is favoured by fortune, is fit for the throne and the golden crown.

It is against the Imperial policy that the claimant of the empire should become strong.

XVIII. When the fourth day elapsed after the coronation, the faces of the soldiery grew dark like ebony.

And when he (Aurangzib) appeared in the public view, he ordered his paymasters to enlist a new army and, like the moon, to dispense with the old one.

XIX. As many soldiers as there may be of the armies of Shāh Jahān, and Dārā Shukoh, as well as that of the valiant Murād, all should be dismissed from service.

XX. Many of them were dismissed from service and their bright morning was turned into a dark evening. In his (Aurangzib's) reign thousands and thousands sat unemployed and worried.

None from the sons of Sāhib-Qirān (*i.e.*, Shāh Jahān) was so 'kind' to the army.

XXI. May God grant him (sense of) justice and generosity, so that people may live in peace !

A king who has got love of gold in his heart, is anxious to acquire more and more wealth and riches day by day.

I should keep quiet over the matter and observe what happens in the end.

VIII

THE SARACENS

Etymology and Denomination

THINGS that happen to be widely well known, have a tendency to render their origin ultimately obscure. Such has been the case with the term "Saracens," about which there exists such a vast difference of opinion that it has become difficult, or rather impossible, to arrive at a correct and definite conclusion. The theoretical explanations regarding this term advanced by Western writers and Oriental scholars, have been proved not only unsound and vague but quite presumptuous and sometimes ridiculous; at the same time one is astonished to find that despite their daily use of the term for centuries, no satisfactory solution has been reached up to the present day.

Early use of the Term

The earliest use of this name is traced in the works of Greek and Roman historians. In the middle of the first century A.C. the Greek botanist

Dioscorides writes about myrrh (*mukl*) as the product of a Saracenic tree. In the same era Pliny the elder (d. 79 A.C.) names those Arab tribes as Saracens who inhabited that part of the Arabia proper which is extended up to the Nabathean borders. He makes mention of the famous Arab tribes of Tayy and Thamūd whom he designates as "Tavini" and "Thamūdai". In the middle of the second century the geographer Ptolemy mentions "Sarakin" as a district of Arabia Petræ and shows its situation in the west of the Black Mount, which, according to him, stretches from the Bay of Paran to the Judea mountains. Again he speaks of the Saracens inhabiting the heart of Arabia Felix. The Byzantine historian Stephanus states "Saraka" as a district the inhabitants of which were called "Saracenoī". About the tribe of Tayy the same historian observes that they live in the south of the Saracens. In the chronicles of the Ecclesiastic historians, Eusebeus and Hero-neum, the Saracens are mentioned as the Ishmaelites of the Old Testament, who reside in the Arabia Deserta, at a place named Qādish situated in the district of Paran or Madyan wherein stands the Hurb mountain in the east of the Red Sea; at first they were called Ishmaelites, then Hagarenes and finally Saracens.¹

¹ *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 155.

Application of the Name

(1) The ancient Romans (Latins) used the name Saracens for the people inhabiting the Arabia Felix. In the Middle Ages, only the Arabs were called Saracens. In earlier times the name of Saraceni was applied by Greeks and Romans to the troublesome nomad Arabs of the Syro-Arabian desert who continually harassed the frontier of the empire from Egypt to Euphrates.¹ After Islam the name was confined to all the Arab people and thereafter it was extended to the Mahomedan Turks and even to all non-Christian nations against whom a Crusade was preached.² Later on it was applied to all the followers of Mahomed (may peace be upon him); the Turks and even other Mahomedan nations were not an exception.³ In the Middle Ages "Saracens" was a common term for Mahomedans hostile to the Crusaders.⁴ Gibbon defines Saracens as a name which every Christian mouth had been taught to pronounce with terror and abhorrence.⁵

Original home of the Saracens

On the authority of the Greek and Roman historians the original home of the Saracens should be

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 21, p. 304.

² Whitney, *Century Dictionary*, Vol. VII, p. 5341.

³ Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 564-65.

⁴ Webster's *Dictionary*, II, p. 1276.

⁵ *Roman Empire*, V, pp. 446-47 (1891).

fixed in the Senai peninsula, the oldest home of the Arabs, on the Egyptian borders, in the neighbourhood of the Nabatheans. In the opinion of Rev. Forster, Serat mountain is the home of the Saracens, which he thinks to be a country of Sarat of which Ayāl Sarah, or Beni Sarah, a town in Yemen in the south of Beni Yām, is the capital.¹ The ingenuity of the Reverend gentleman in deriving so ridiculously the word Sarat from Sarah, the wife of the Patriarch Abraham, is quite uncalled for, as Sarat in Arabic means the hump of a quadruped animal and hence the appropriate appellation;² although in fact the mountain is properly named Al-Hijāz which according to al-Hamadānī is the vast chain of mountains stretching from the farthest Yemen to Syria.³

Ptolemy has pointed out the country as the home of the Saracens, lying to the west of the great Senai chain along the southern confines of Judea to the borders of Egypt. Eusebeus has also mentioned the Saracens as the inhabitants of this tract in the 3rd century.⁴

Pronunciations of the Name

In different European languages the word "Saracen" has assumed different pronunciations which follow here.

¹ *Geography of Arabia*, II, p. 27.

² Mas'udi, *Mūrūju' dh-Dhahab*, (on the margin of al-Maqqārī, Cairo ed.) Vol. II, p. 84.

³ Yaqūt, *Mu'jamu'l-Buldān*, V, p. 66.

⁴ Forster, II, pp. 20-21, note.

1. Old English : Saracen, Sarazyn, Saraysyn.
2. Old French : Saracin, Sarracin, Sarrazin, Sarracen, Sarrasin.
3. Spanish : Saracen.
4. Portuguese : Sarracen.
5. Italian : Saraceno.
6. German : Saracene.
7. Old Latin : Saracenus, pl. Saraceni.
8. Greek : Σαρακήνος (Saracenos).¹

Difference of Opinion

From the above statements it will be clearly seen that the term "Saracens" was applied to Arabs by the Greeks and the Romans and that evidently it must have its origin in the Greek or the Roman language, but that it has been altogether lost sight of in the obscurity of conflicting surmises and presumptions and the question has been evidently left undecided as to what language the term owes its origin, and whether the *Arabs* have invented the name for themselves or that it was applied to them by others. This fact will be borne out by the opinions of different writers quoted below.

"The word Saracens," observes an English writer, "was applied to the Arabs by themselves as meaning Men of the Desert."² This view, however, is erroneous because had the Arabs called themselves by

¹ W. D. Whitney, *Century Dictionary*.

² Robert T. Anderson, *Extinct Civilization of the East*, p. 131.

this name it should have been mentioned by them in their books. But unfortunately this does nowhere occur in the works of the Arab chroniclers and therefore it would be right to assume that in earlier times the Greeks and Romans applied this name to Arabs. "Saracens," says Nelson, "is a general name applied by Greeks and Latins to the Arab tribes along the edge of the Syrian desert, and later used by mediæval writers of Europe to indicate their Moslem enemies in general, especially such as they encountered in European countries."¹ Such a marked divergence of view exists about the origin and derivation of this name that according to Gibbon the "proposed explanations of its meaning are all unsatisfactory."² The same view is shared by another writer who says that "no satisfactory explanation has been given of the reason why the Romans called the frontier tribes Saracens."³

The famous Orientalist, Dr. Pocock, also expresses the same opinion when he observes *tacit*

"I can nowhere find, in what has hitherto been published on the subject by our writers, any satisfactory reason given as to why those who were formerly called Arabs should subsequently go by the name of Saracens."⁴

¹ Nelson's *Encyclopædia*, Vol. 20, p. 144.

² *Roman Empire*, Vol. V, p. 447, note.

³ *Ibid.*, V, 216, note 3.

⁴ Sir Syed Ahmad, *Essays on the Life of Muhammad*, p. 114. (London, 1870).

On the above statements of the Western scholars one cannot help remarking that almost all the explanations given by them are speculative and hypothetical. In substantiation of this remark we cannot do better than cite some eminent European authorities :

I. Edward Gibbon, the renowned historian of the Roman Empire, writes :

"The name used by Ptolemy and Pliny in a more confined, by Ammianus and Procopius in a larger, sense, has been derived, ridiculously, from Sarah, the wife of Abraham; obscurely from the village of Saraca; more plausibly from the Arabic words which signify a thievish character, or Oriental situation. Yet the last and most popular of these etymologies is refuted by Ptolemy, who expressly remarks the Western and Southern position of the Saracens, then an obscure tribe on the borders of Egypt. The appellation cannot, therefore, allude to any national character; and since it was imposed by strangers, it must be found not in Arabic but in a foreign language."¹

But Rev. Forster, the author of the *Geography of Arabia*, has vehemently repudiated the assertion of Gibbon. How zealously and with what intense religious fervour the reverend gentleman has

¹ *Roman Empire*, Vol. V, p. 216, note 3.

pounced upon Gibbon in refuting his so-called sceptic views contained in his "insidious note", will be seen from the following quotation :

"The information and inference compressed into his note, Mr. Gibbon borrows chiefly from Pocock (*Spec.* pp. 33-35) and, I am sorry to add, in this instance is able to shield his scepticism under the shelter of a great name : 'Explosaest merito eorum sententia (in the language of the author of the Specimen), qui a Sarah nomen-traxisse autumant.' When a sentence like this is pronounced *ex cathedra*, we are entitled surely to know its grounds. It is my fortune to concur in the exploded opinion : but I shall give (what neither Dr. Pocock nor Mr. Gibbon has given) my reasons for doing so.

"The tone of this insidious note betrays the mind of the writer, the phrase, 'derived ridiculously from Sarah, the wife of Abraham,' breathes, as usual, that spirit of restless and rancorous hostility with which the author of the 'Decline and Fall' has been pleased to pursue everything connected in the remotest degree, with the credit, or credibility, of revealed religion."

The reverend gentleman does not rest content with hurling insinuations against Gibbon, but has gone even further to implicate Asseman, the librarian of the Vaticans, who has supported Gibbon while pronouncing his following opinion on this moot

question :

" Authors are not agreed as to the derivation of the name Saracens ; some refer this name to Sarah, the wife of the Patriarch Abraham. But none of the Arabs claim descent from Sarah but from Hagar and Ishmael. Neither will Saracen come from Sarah, but Sarean or Sarite. But the Saritai are Arab people whom Ptolemy places in Arabia Felix, and are named, not after Sarah, but from Sarech (the Saraca of Ptolemy) : The elements of the two words being altogether different."¹

After showing how perfunctorily the learned Asseman has disposed of, to his own satisfaction, the derivation of the term from Sarah, Forster proceeds to dwell on his gratuitous assumption which may be summed up as follows :

- (1) That the people of Saraca were expressly denominated Saracens, by Stephanus of Byzantium, and
- (2) that the denomination is, in accordance with the universal Arab usage, to name, alternately to place, after its inhabitants.

II. Forster, while refuting the views of Gibbon and Asseman, has dwelt on this subject devoting some 30 pages of his book. In this lengthy controversy, for which he is not prepared to offer an apology, the reverend gentleman has endeavoured to

¹ *Geography of Arabia*, II, p. 10.

prove that the Saracens were indisputably the same descendants of Sarah, whom the Romans and Greeks have named Saracens and that *Saraca*, *Sarite* (as-Sarat ?) and *Saraceni* all retrace the name and posterity of Sarah. While summing up his arguments Forster observes :

" The origin of the name of Saracens has now been traced to Sarah, the wife of Abraham, through a series of closely connected evidences, in which history, profane and sacred, geography ancient and modern, and etymology classical and Oriental, combine their lights. The names 'mountains of Sarah' and 'country of Sarah' by which the northern seats of the Edomites were familiarly known to the Jews, in the age of the Maccabees, are re-echoed from the extreme south by the Arabs of Yemen at the present day, in those of al-Saraut, and Ayal Sarah. While these wholly independent authorities, again, reciprocate their evidences with those furnished by the classic writers, whose Saraca, Saritæ and Saracene they at once identify and interpret.

" The preliminary analogies of Hagarenes from Hagar, and Keturans from Keturah, which so prominently suggest the antecedent probability of the parallel derivation, from Sarah, of Saritæ, and Saraceni, thus amply borne out, by such a host of witnesses, and such an accumulation of facts, I may unpresumptuously anticipate the

judgment of others and consider the question to be set at rest."¹

Notwithstanding this subtle controversial discussion and argumentation, one does not find an answer to the question raised by Asseman that the Arabs claim their descent from Hagar and not from Sarah, and that had the word been derived from the latter, it should have been *Sarite* or *Saracan* and not *Saracen*, for which neither any reason has been given nor any explanation suggested so far as its meaning is concerned.

III. The eminent Orientalist, Dr. Pocock, makes the following observations in his history of the Arabs (*Specimen Historia Arabum*):

"The opinion of such as derive the name from Sarah has been very properly rejected, it now being generally thought that they are so called from (سرق) *Saraq* (to thief), a word by which a ferocious and robber race is evidently designated. But to whom were they indebted for this name? Certainly not to themselves, who would have been more tender of their own reputation, but to the language of some other tribes rather than that of Arabs, to whom such a word would be most offensive, as conveying with it an idea of reproach and degradation. It remains then for the learned to inquire whether a name by which are indicated men

¹ *Geography of Arabia*, II, pp. 28-29.

infamous for public and open robbery can properly be derived from سرق *Saraq*, a word meaning to *steal privily*. Now should anyone be inclined to take me as his guide in investigating who the Saracens were, *let him direct his eyes towards the East*. For, indeed, what difference of sound can there be between Saracenus and Saracenis and Saraceni, than between شرق (Sharq) *Sharqī*, and in the plural (شريون) *Sharqiyyūn* and *Sharqiyyīn*, that is, (أهل الشرق) *Ahlul-Sharq*, Eastern inhabitants."

"The word Saracenis," the learned Doctor adds, "may also be derived from another source, namely (شرك) *Shirk*, Idolaters, Associate, so called from their assigning associates to God."¹

IV. The renowned German Orientalist, the late Professor Nöldeke, writes:

"Ptolemy (V, 16) mentions Σαρακηνη as a district in the Sinaitic peninsula. The inhabitants of this district, who are unknown to Arab tradition, must have made themselves notorious in the Roman provinces in their vicinity; we can hardly suppose by other means the predatory incursions by hindering the march of caravans or levying heavy tolls upon them. Thus in that region all Beduins came to be called Saraceni in Aramaic Sarkaje, usually with

¹ Sir Syed Ahmad, *Essays on the Life of Muhammad*, (Historical Geography of Arabia), pp. 114-15 and 117-18.

no very favourable meaning."

While tracing the origin of Saracen from the Aramaic language, the learned Orientalist has not taken the trouble of explaining its meaning which probably may not have been so indecent as to need avoiding its mention.

V. The writer of the article "Saracen" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says :

"It is most natural to suppose that they adopted some name of a tribe or confederation and used it in an extended sense, just as the Syrians called all those Northern nomads by the name of the tribe of 'Tayy'. The common derivation from the Arabic Sharqi (Eastern) is quite untenable. Sprenger suggests that the word may be simply 'Shoraka' (allies)."¹

6. Thomas Hughes in his *Dictionary of Islam* writes :

"There is much uncertainty as to the origin of this word. The word Ἑαράκυος was used by Ptolemy and Pliny and also by Ammianus and Procopius, for certain Oriental tribes, long before the death of Mahomed (see Gibbon). Some Etymologists derive it from the Arabic سرق (see Wedgewood's *Dictionary*), others from Sahra (see Webster). Gibbon thinks it may be from the Arabic 'Saraqa' whilst some have even

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XXI, p. 304.

thought it may be derived from Sarah."¹

VII. Nelson in his *Encyclopædia* opines :

"The origin of the term is not known; a derivation from the Arabic word Sharqi (Eastern) is rejected by Arabic scholars such as W. Robertson Smith."²

VIII. The late Syed Amir 'Ali, on the authority of Renaud, observes :

"The people who inhabited this vast region, especially those who wandered in the desert which lay to the west of the Euphrates, were called by the Greeks and Romans, Saraceni, and this is the name by which they were known in the West when they issued from their homes to conquer the world.

"The word Saraceni is supposed to be derived either from Sahra=desert, and nishin=dwellers; or from Sharqiin, (Eastern)—Sharq in Arabic meaning East."³

This after all is the result of the inquiry and research of the Western scholars most of whom have supposed the term to have been derived from شرکاء، شرق، سرقة and صحراء ; while some of them are inclined to believe it to have originated from some name of person or place to which the Arabs belonged, namely Saraca, al-Saraut and Sārah.

Notwithstanding all these efforts on the part of

¹ *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 564-65.

² *Nelson's Encyclopædia*, Vol. 20, p. 144.

³ *History of the Saracens*, p. 4 (1899).

the European writers to find out the derivation of the term, the origin of the Saracens is still shrouded in mystery. Rev. Forster's theory, however it may appear nearer home, does not lift the veil entirely from its face.

Arabic Authorities

Now let us turn to the Arab writers. Almost all the Arab historians are silent regarding this denomination, except one, who not only makes mention of the name but gives its derivation and meaning to our best satisfaction, thus solving once and for all this intricate question which had hitherto remained unsolved for centuries together and down to our own times. In one of his standard historical works, the eminent Arab historian al-Mas'ūdi has devoted a special chapter to the Roman Kings from the beginning of the Hijrah era up to 345 A.H. in which, while dwelling on the reforms introduced in his empire by Nicephorus the son of Istibraq (193 A.H.) the 38th King of Rome, al-Mas'ūdi states :

”و افکر على الروم تسميتهم العرب ساراقينوس تفسير ذلك
عبيد ساره طعنناً منهم على هاجروا بنها اسماعيل انها كانت امة لساره
و قال تسميتهم عبيد ساره كذب والروم الى هذا الوقت تسمى
العرب ساراقينوس“-

And he (Nicephorus) prohibited denomination of the Arabs by Romans as Saracenus, which

means the slaves of Sarah, a sneer at Hagar and her son Ishmael, the former believed to be the maid-servant of Sarah. And he also declared that to call the Arabs "slaves of Sarah" is wrong.

And the Romans up to this time call the Arabs Saracenus.¹

Al-Mas'ūdi has been most probably followed by Ibnu'l-*Athīr*, an Arab historian of the 7th century A.H. ; who has copied only half of the above quotation, reducing سارقيوس to ساراقينوس (probably a typographical or a scribe's mistake) in his chronicle :

”وَكَانَ الرُّومُ تَسْمِي الْعَرَبَ سَارَاقِينُوسَ يَعنِي عَبْدَ سَارَهْ
بِسْبَبِ هَاجِرَ امْ اسْعَيْلَ فَنَاهَا هُمْ عَنْ ذَالِكَ“.

And the Romans used to call the Arabs Saracenus, *i.e.*, "slaves of Sarah," on account of Hagar the mother of Ishmael, he (Nicephorus) forbade them to do so.²

The fact is that the Jews did not believe in the purity of the Arab race as they thought the latter to be the descendants of Hagar, the so-called "maid-servant of Sarah", hence the name "Saracen", a term which reminds of that ignominious accusation betraying the racial prejudice and religious rancour of the "lost sheep of Israel" against the Arabs. The Jews had always looked down with contempt and hatred upon the descendants of Ishmael and attributed to them

¹ *At-Tanbīḥ wa'l-Ishrāf*, p. 168. (De George's edition).

² *Tārikh-u'l-Kāmil*, I, p. 117.

such appellations with a view to lowering them down in comparison with the Israelites and with this object in view they have invidiously endeavoured to prove on the authority of the Old Testament, which is entirely based on misconstruction and misinterpretation, when they wrongly assume that Hagar, the second wife of the Patriarch Abraham, was a slave-girl and maid-servant of his first wife, Sarah. The learned divines of Islam have already refuted this charge in their polemical works on the subject.

A European writer breaks a new ground when he says that "the blood of the Saracens was less pure since they were only descended from Sarah—in what way it is not mentioned ; but she probably had them by another marriage ; or, maybe, as the fruit of an Egyptian intrigue."¹

It is quite probable that the Romans and Greeks have borrowed this term, either in form or sense, from the Jews and it reached the Western countries through the Crusaders.

The term was in vogue among the Romans up to the 4th century (A.H.), as we learn from al-Mas'ūdi. Nay, it was retained up to the middle of the 8th century and was generally used for Muslims, as we are informed by the famous Spanish traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, who furnishes us with the following information in his travels :

”وَلَا وَصَلَنَا بَابُ الْأَوَّلِ مِنْ أَبْوَابِ قَصْرِ الْمَلِكِ وَجَدَنَا بِهِ مَأْنَةً“

¹ T. Buckle, *History of Civilization*, I, p. 312.

رجل معهم قائد لهم فوق دكانه و سمعتهم يقولون سراكنو! سراكنو!

“When we reached the first gate of the King’s Palace, we found there one hundred soldiers with their Commanding Officer in the verandah of the Palace. I heard them calling us by the name of ‘Saraceno,’ which means Musalmans.”¹

¹ *Ajāib-u'l-Asfār*, I, p. 206, (Cairo).

IX

AL-MĀWARDĪ

A Sketch of his Life and Works

THE glorious regime of the Abbasides was really the augustan period of Islamic History, and is rightly called the Golden Age of Muslim civilization and culture. An intellectual movement carried to the vast and varied extent marks the literary tendencies of that age. The acquisition of arts and sciences, the translation of Greek classics into Arabic, and the widespread patronage of scholars and savants, are the salient features of that period. The literary history of this particular period richly abounds in great scholars in every science, of which a nation can justly be proud. Among the literary geniuses of that age was Al-Māwardī, the subject of our present paper.

Al-Khaṭīb of Baghdād, on the authority of Abū 'Alī Ḥasan b. Dā'ūd, relates that the people of Baṣra always took pride in their three learned countrymen and their works, *viz.*, Khalil b. Ahmad (d. 175 A.H.) and his work *Kitābu'l 'Ain*; Sibawayh (d. 180 A.H.) and his *Kitābun-Nahw*; Al-Jāhiz (d. 255 A.H.)

and his *Al-Bayān wat-Tabyīn*. I would add to this the name of a fourth erudite man Al-Māwardī, the learned Jurisconsult and Political economist of Baṣrah whose monumental work *Al-Aḥkāmu's-Sultāniyah* is a high water-mark in the politico-religious literature of Islam.

Birth, Name, Family and Education

His name was 'Ali b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Abu'l-Hasan*¹ being his *Kunyah*, or patronymic, and "Al-Māwardī" his family surname. He was born in 364-972² at Baṣra in an Arab family who either carried on trade in rose-water or manufactured it, hence the Sobriquet "al-Māwardī."³

The biographers of Māwardī do not furnish any information regarding his family members and relatives. It is only *Al-Khaṭīb* who speaks of Māwardī's brother⁴, although he does not mention his name.

Māwardī had a son named Abul-Fāiz 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb who died in his father's lifetime, as his death is recorded in the events of the year 441 A.H., by Ibn Jauzī and Ibn *Athīr*.⁵ They say that he

¹ In *Abu'l-fidā*, Ibn *Athīr* and Ibn Jauzī, the *Kunyah* is *Abul-Husain* which is not correct.

² The biographers of Māwardī agree that he died in 450 at the age of 86 years, and the date of his birth can therefore be conveniently fixed in 364 A.H.

³ *Sam'ānī, Anṣāb*, fol. 504.

⁴ *Tārīkh Baghdād*.

⁵ *Al-Muntaqām*, VIII, p. 142; *al-Kāmil*, IX, p. 194. Ibn *Athīr* gives his *Kunyah* as *Abu'l-Qasim*.

was appointed as an approved witness¹ in 431 A.H. by Qādī Ibn Mākūlā,² who appointed him in deference to the high position occupied by his father al-Māwardī.

Māwardī at first studied Jurisprudence under his countryman Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abdul-Wāhid-ash-Saimari (d. 386 A.H.), a learned theologian and a leading Shāfi'i jurist of Baṣrah under whom students from far off countries came to receive instruction.³ He proceeded afterwards to Baghdād to prosecute his studies further under Shaikh Abu Ḥāmid al-Isfārāīnī (d. 406).⁴ He also read with Abu Muḥammad 'Abdullah al-Bāfi (d. 398 A.H.), an eminent scholar, an eloquent speaker and learned theologian of Baghdād, well-versed in Jurisprudence, grammar, literature and poetry.⁵

¹ In the 4th century *Shuhūd*, or notaries, or permanent approved witnesses, were appointed by the Qādī. They were officials of the Qādī who assisted him in verifying legal matters and also decided small disputes. They were young lawyers who later received judicial appointments (*vide Ency. of Islam*, IV, p. 262; Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, pp. 228-229).

² Husain b. 'Ali b. Ja'far (b. 368, d. 447 A.H.) was appointed Qādī'u'l-Quḍāt by Caliph al-Qadir in 427 A.H. A theologian and Jurist (*Muntaẓam*, VIII, p. 167; *Subki*, III, p. 152).

³ *Subki*, *Tabaqat*, II, p. 243; Yaqūt, *Mu'jamu'l-Buldān*, V, p. 406; according to Dhahabi (*History of Islam*) he lived as late as 402 A.H. at Baṣrah (*Ibn-Khalikān*, De Slane, II, p. 226). The name is derived from Saimara, one of the canals of Baṣrah.

⁴ The prominent Shāfi'i jurist, about whom it has been remarked that had the Imām Shāfi'i seen him he would have been very much pleased with him. Seven hundred students daily attended his lectures on Jurisprudence. Ibn Khalikān, I, pp. 19-20; *Al-Muntaẓam*, VII, pp. 277-278; *Subki*, III, p. 303; Yaqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, p. 229.

⁵ 'Abdullah b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī of Bāf, a village in the district of Khwārazm, *Subki*, II, pp. 233-234.

Studies and Academic Career

Māwardī was well-read in the Islamic sciences of Hadīth, Fiqh, Quranic Commentary and Sīrah, as is amply borne out by his erudite writings on the subjects. He was also proficient in the subjects of Politics, Ethics, Literature and Poetry. Here some details regarding his academic attainments are given which have been gathered from different sources.

1. *As a Traditionist*

Māwardī lived in an age when Hadīth was the order of the day and every scholar, however profound he may be, used to receive instruction in Hadīth and acquire it from different persons even inferior to him in learning. Māwardī himself was one of the trustworthy guarantors of the Prophet's sayings which he related from and transmitted to many of his contemporaries, when he permanently settled at Baghdād, in the quarter of Al-Zafarāni.¹

The following traditionists were the masters (شيخون) of Māwardī in Hadīth.¹

1. Hasan b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Jabālī (d. 413 A.H.), a traditionist and Jurisconsult of Baṣrah and a pupil of Abu'l-Halifah.²
2. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Zajr al-Minqārī.
3. Muḥammad b. al-Mu'allā al-Azdī.

¹ *Tārikh Baghdađ*. No. 6539.

² *Sam'āni*, fol. 121.

4. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. al-Fadl al-Baghdādī.

Several learned men studied Hadīth and Fiqh under him.¹

None of Māwardī's works on Hadīth proper has come down to us, but a large number of *Aḥādīth* quoted in his printed works, viz., *Aḥkāmu's-Sultāniya*, *A'alāmu'n-Nubuwah* and *Adabu'd-Dunya wad-Dīn*, give us an idea of his vast knowledge in this particular branch of Islamic learning.

Subkī has related two sayings from Māwardī in his *Ṭabaqāt*³ giving his own *Isnād*, or the chain of guarantors, in which occur the names of his master No. I and his pupil No. II.³

Māwardī's vast knowledge of Hadīth literature can be gauged from his work on *Dalā'ilu'n-Nubuwah*, a branch which broke off from the *Sīrah* (biography of the Prophet) to assume a development of its own. The object of this special branch of *Sīrah* is to discuss the miracles of the Prophet in his words and deeds, their bearing on his mission, the difference between miracle and magic, etc. Many books have been written on the subject but Māwardī's book named اعلام النبوة (signs of propethood), has been held *par excellence* by the scholars. Tāsh Köprüzāda's opinion is that there is no other book so excellent and informative on the subject as that

¹ See under "Māwardī as a teacher."

² Vol. III, p. 306.

³ See under "Māwardī as a teacher."

of Māwardī. The learned bibliographer has defined the subject to be a branch of the Divine Philosophy,¹ while in the opinion of Hāji Khalīfa it is a branch of Scholasticism (علم الکلام).² The book comprises 21 chapters and 165 pages, in which Māwardī has discussed at length the proofs of the Prophet's mission, the Qur'ān as his miracle performed by Allah in order to prove the sincerity of His Apostle, proofs of his infallibility, his miracles performed in deeds and words, his prayers answered by God, his warnings against things to happen after him, his miracles in the animal, the vegetable and the mineral worlds, prophecies of other prophets regarding his coming as the last Prophet, the purity of his blood in his generation and birth, his moral conduct and virtues, his appearance and the establishment of his mission, the admission of the genii regarding his prophetship and their profession of Islam ; these are the contents of this small treatise which furnishes very valuable information not only on the life of the Prophet but also on the customs, superstitions and beliefs of the pre-Islamic Arabs. A modern author has profusely drawn upon this book in his monumental work on the history of the Arabs.³

2. As a Jurisconsult.

Islamic Law and Jurisprudence was Māwardī's

¹ *Miftāḥu's-Sa'adah*, I, p. 263.

² *Kashfū'z-Zunūn*, I, p. 147.

³ *Bulugh'l-Irab fi Ahwāl'l-'Arab*, by Al-Uṣīzīda, in 3 vols. Bağhdād.

favourite subject in which he had specialised himself and acquired a high degree of proficiency, especially in the *furū'* (فروع), or doctrine of applied Fiqh of the Shāfi'ite school. His deep study of the principles and branches of Islamic Jurisprudence has built up his reputation as one of the most learned Jurists of his time, and he is counted as one of the Imāms, or leaders of the Shāfi'ite school. His masterly work *al-Hāwī* is a positive proof of Māwardī's profound learning and extensive knowledge of Fiqh, and reflects much credit on his high attainments in this subject. This book of Māwardī has been used as a great work of reference by the later Jurists, and was a source of inspiration to them in solving the most difficult and knotty problems of Islamic Jurisprudence. The book *al-Hāwī* is highly spoken of by al-Isnawī, the author of biographies of the Shāfi'ite Jurists, who says that no such book has ever been written on the subject.¹ This great work was condensed by Māwardī into an epitome and was named *al-Iqnā'* about which he says that he spread Jurisprudence in four thousand folios (i.e., 8000 pages), meaning thereby his work *al-Hāwī* and condensed it into 40, i.e., his book *al-Iqnā'*.²

He had also written as الكافي شرح مختصر المزنی recorded by Subki³; كتاب في البيوع is referred to by the author himself in his ادب الدنيا والدين but it has not come down to us.

¹ *Shadharāt-adh-Dhahab*, III, p. 285.

² *Al-Muntazam*, VIII, p. 199; *Bundāri*, 22.

³ *Subki*, III, p. 174.

Māwardī was a *Mujtahid* or an independent interpreter of the canon law and he did not believe in such analogical deductions as are not supported by original sources of the Islamic *Shari'at*, but are merely based on the rigid conventionalities of the later Jurists. For instance, in the inheritance of *Dhawi'l-Arhām* (uterine relations or "Distant kindred"), he made no distinction between the near and the distant heirs. The old Shāfi'iite Jurists held the same view,¹ as in the old Shāfi'iite law no place has been reserved in the order of succession for the Distant kindred.

3. As a Commentator of Qur'ān

Among the old commentators of Qur'ān Māwardī is counted as one of the best interpreters of the holy writ. His commentary entitled *An-Nukātu wa'l-Uyūn*, though not so well-known like other famous works on the subject, is taken to be a classical work like that of his contemporary Al-Qushairī and later writers like Ar-Rāzī, Al-Isbahānī and Al-Kirmānī. Although some of his critics have found fault with his certain interpretations and have alleged him to hold Mu'tazilite views, this does not seem to be correct as his interpretations stand in perfect agreement with those of the orthodox school, and the learned divine Ibn Taimiya, while giving his opinion about the orthodox commentaries

¹ *Yāqūt*, V. 408.

of the Qur'ān, has enumerated Māwardī's commentary among the good books on the subject.¹ However, Māwardī's commentary seems to have been so popular that a scholar made an abridgement of it.² The later day Persian commentator Al-Kāshifi (d. 910 A.H.) refers to this commentary in his book *Tuhfatu's-Salawāt*.³ Probably it was due to the fame of this book that a Spanish scholar Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Abil-Qāsim b. 'Abdullah b. 'Alī al-Muqrī (d. 472 A.H.) of Saraqusta (Saragossa), in the course of his travels to the Near East for acquiring knowledge, read this book with Al-Māwardī.⁴ Besides the commentary on Qur'ān, Māwardī also wrote a book on the Qur'ānic similitudes, (أمثال القرآن), the importance of which has been emphasised by Māwardī himself in the following words, as quoted by Tāsh Köprüzāda⁵ and As-Suyūṭī⁶:

“One of the main Quranic Sciences is the Science of Parables or similitudes. People have neglected it as they have confined their attention to similitudes only and have lost sight of their

¹ *Kunnāsh* of Ibnu's-Sārim, *op. cit.* *Az-Zahra*, No. 9, Vol. IV

² *Hāji Khalifa*, I, p. 314.

³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 614 and I, p. 263.

⁴ Amir Shākib Arsalān, *Al-Hulal as-Sundusiyā*, II, p. 20.

⁵ *Miftāḥu's-Sa'dah*, Vol. II, pp. 368-369.

⁶ *Al-Itqān*, II, p. 222. The original text runs as follows :—

”قال الماوردي من اعظم علم القرآن علم امثاله والنماص في
غفلة عنه الا شتغالهم بالامثال و اغفالهم المثلات كالغرم بلا
بلام والناقة بلا زمام“

similar. A similitude without a similar is just like a horse without a bridle, or a camel without a rein."

This observation of Māwardī shows what deep insight he had into the subject. Probably he is the first man to write a book on the subject, as As-Suyūtī has pointed out.¹

4. As a Literary Man

Although Māwardī was solely devoted to theological studies, yet he possessed in him a real aptitude and taste for literature and poetry. His works contain fine specimens of his literary style and perfect command over the Arabic language. The Arabic proverbs, aphorisms, literary traditions and quotations from classical Arabic poems, profusely scattered in his books, testify to his linguistic ability and literary craftsmanship.

That Māwardī was well-read in Classical Arabic Poetry and remembered innumerable verses of the celebrated Arabic poets, is evident from the numerous quotations in his writings. Subkī tells us that Māwardī was prone to quote lyrical verses in his theological writings.²

As regards Māwardī's poetical compositions we possess no information. Yāqūt³ says that he read in a book named سر السرور by Mahmūd of Nishāpūr,⁴ the

¹ *Tabaqat*, III, p. 308.

² *Irshād*, V, p. 407.

³ Hāfi Khalifa gives the name of author as Qādi Mu'inu'd-dīn Abil-'Alī Muhammad b. Mahmūd al-Ghaznawī, (Vol. II, p. 24.).

following two verses ascribed to Māwardī :—

وفي الجهل قبل الموت موتٌ لا له لاه فاجسادهم دون القبور قبور
وإن أمراء لم يحي بالعلم صدره فليس له حتى النشور نشور

[The ignorant (illiterate) persons die out before their death (on account of their illiteracy); their bodies are graves, though not in fact as such. If a man does not enliven his breast with knowledge, he is to remain lifeless till the day of Resurrection.]

But Subkī says that he found these two couplets quoted in a book named *الاستغنا* by Mahdī b. ‘Alī al-Isfarāīnī, who writes that Māwardī related to him these lines in the name of a certain poet of Baṣrah.¹

5. As a Political Theorist.

Māwardī was a great Political economist, though not a regular student of Political science, and his speculative political thinking deserves special attention. He is the first amongst the Muslim savants who wrote on the subjects of Islamic Political ideals. In this respect he is a precursor of the contemporary as well as the later-day Political Theorists like Ibn Ḥazm, Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, al-Fakhri, Ibn Jamā'ah and Ibn Khaldūn.

¹ *Tabaqāt*, IV. pp. 26, 27. Here the words are قبيل القبور instead of ميت صدرة and دون القبور instead of ميت which do not seem to be correct.

Māwardī wrote the following treatises on Politics :—

1. *Aḥkāmu's-Sultāniya* (Laws concerning Rulership).
2. *Ādābu'l-Wazīr* (Ethics of the Wazīr).
3. *Siyāsatu'l-Malik* (King's Politics).
4. *Tahsīlu'n-Naṣr wa Ta'jīl uż-Zafar* (Facilitating the succour and hastening the victory).

Out of these four books Nos. 1 and 2 have been published, the other two are still in manuscript.

The *Ādābal-Wazīr* deals with the definition and classification of the Wazīr or Prime Minister, his duties and functions, his powers and limitations. It contains sound advice to ministers and lays down rules and practical suggestions which the ministers must follow while functioning as a head of the state at the helm of affairs. Upon the duties, instructions, and admonitions to Wazīrs a vast literature has sprung up; and in this class of literature Māwardī's work has been considered most important, since it contains a concise survey of all that is worth knowing in any branch of Islamic culture.

Of all the works of Māwardī, *Aḥkāmu's-Sultāniya* is by far the most important. It is a book of outstanding merit, dealing with the Islamic conception of sovereignty and sets out in detail the postulate of a world-wide caliphate from the Sunni, or orthodox,

point of view and based on the early history of Islam. Some of the subjects it covers are not to be found elsewhere, as the author himself points out in the conclusion.¹

In view of the large literature on the book², and its availability in French and Urdu, we are spared the necessity of analysing its contents. However, it may be pointed out here that as regards the contents of the book Māwardī has closely followed the *Kitābu'l-Umm* of ash-Shāfi'i.

¹ *Aḥkāmu's-Sulṭānya*, p. 249 (Cairo). Māwardī has made the following observation :—

وَ انْ كَانَ أَكْثَرُ كِتَابَنَا هَذَا يَشْتَهِلُ عَلَى مَا قَدْ افْغَلَهُ الْفُقَيْهُونَ
أَوْ قَصَرُوا فِيهِ، فَذَكَرْنَا مَا افْغَلَوْهُ وَاسْتَوْفَينَا مَا قَصَرُوا فِيهِ

(Most of the contents of our book are those which have been neglected by the Jurists, or have been briefly treated, so we have described what they have left out and completed what they have briefly dealt with.)

² Max Anger, *De vita et scriptis Mawardi*, 1851.

Von Hammer, *Spirit of Islam*, p. 485.

Von Kremer, (trans. Khuda Bakhsh), Vol. I, pp. 268-69.

Brockelmann, G.A.L. in loco ; *Encyclopædia of Islam*, in loco.

Clement Huart, *Arabic Literature*, pp. 243-44.

Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 338.

Arnold, *Caliphate*, pp. 70-73.

Margoliouth and Carra de Vaux, *Encyclopædia of Religions and Ethics*, VI, pp. 724-25.

Ruben Levy, *Sociology of Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 295-300.

Khuda Bakhsh, *Essays : Indian and Islamic*, pp. 43-47.

Sherwani, *Studies in the Early History of Muslim Political Thought*, pp. 148-65.

Siddiqi, *Caliphate and Kingship in Mediæval Persia*, p. 11, f.n.

JRAS, 1910, pp. 750-61 ; 1911, pp. 635-74 ; 1916, I, pp. 280-87 ; II, pp. 60-77. (Qadī, Maṣālim, and Hisba).

6. *As a Teacher.*

It is related by **Abū Ishaq ash-Shirāzī**, a contemporary of Māwardī, who had once met him,¹ that Māwardī imparted instruction at Baṣrah and Baghdād for many years.² The following scholars are mentioned among his pupils : -

1. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abdul-Bāqī ar-Ratī of Mawṣil (d. 494 A.H.). He learnt Fiqh from Māwardī.³
2. ‘Abdur-Rahmān b. ‘Abdul-Karīm b. Hawāzin al-Qushairī (d. 482 A.H.). He read Ḥadīth with Māwardī.⁴
3. ‘Abdul-Wāhid b. ‘Abdul-Karīm b. Hawāzin al-Qushairī (d. 494 A.H.), brother of No. 2.⁵
4. ‘Alī b. Sa‘id b. ‘Abdur-Rahmān b. Muhriz Abul-Ḥasan al-‘Abdarī (d. 493 A.H.).⁶
5. Abu Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Khaṭīb of Baghdād (d. 463 A.H.), who acquired Ḥadīth from Māwardī.⁷
6. Abul-Izz Aḥmad b. ‘Ubaidullah b. Kādīsh al-‘Ukbarī.⁸

¹ *Subki*, III, p. 95.

² *Tabaqātu'l-Fuqahā*, p. 110.

³ *Subki*, III, p. 41; *Al-Muntazam*, IX, p. 126 where it is "Rab'i".

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 223; *Al-Kutubi* (*Fawāt*, I, p. 268) gives the date of his death in 514 A.H.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

⁷ *Tārikh Baghdād*, No. 6539.

⁸ *Subki*, III, p. 303.

7. 'Abdul-Ghani b. Nāzil b. Yahyā b. al-Hasan al-Alwahī (d. 486 A.H.),¹ a Shafi'ite Jurist, a learned and pious man.
8. Qādī Abul-Faraj Muḥammad b. 'Ubaidullah b. al-Hasan, the grammarian, a Shafi'ite Jurist and Judge of Baṣrah (d. 499 A.H.). He studied Fiqh under Māwardī.²
9. Abul-Faḍl 'Abdul-Malik b. Ibrāhīm al-Hamadānī, a Shafi'ite Jurist who died at Baghdād in 489 A.H. He read Fiqh with Māwardī³ and studied for five years under him.⁴
10. Abul-'Abbās Qādī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Jurjānī, a Jurist and Judge of Baṣrah (d. 482 A.H.).⁵
11. Abu Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Badrān al-Hulwānī of Baghdād (b. 420, d. 507 A.H.), a Shafi'ite Jurist who learnt much in ḥadīth from Māwardī.⁶
12. Abul-Hasan 'Alī b. Abi'l-Qāsim b. 'Abdullah b. 'Alī al-Muqrī of Spain (d. 472 A.H.) to whom Māwardī transmitted his commentary on the Qur'ān.⁷

¹ *Subki*, p. 237; *Sam'dnī*, (fol. 47/2) gives the date of his death in 483 A.H.

² *Al-Muntaẓam*, IX, pp. 147-148; Yaqūt, *Iḥshād*, VII, pp. 30-31; *Ibn Athīr*, X, p. 145.

³ *Subki*, III, p. 249; *Al-Muntaẓam*, IX, p. 100.

⁴ *Yaqūt*, V, p. 408.

⁵ *Subki*, III, p. 31; *Al-Muntaẓam*, IX, p. 50.

⁶ *Subki*, IV, p. 42.

⁷ *Al-Hululu's-Sundusiyā*, II, p. 20.

13. Abu'l-Makārim Muḥammad b. Ḥasan ash-Shaibānī, a traditionist (d. 507 A.H.).¹

It is not known whether Māwardī taught his pupils in some Madrasah or mosque, but one of his pupils, 'Abdul-Malik (No. 9), says that he used to receive instruction from Māwardī at Bağhdād at the latter's residence. From this it is certain that at Bağhdād Māwardī used to teach at home.

7. As a Judge.

We know nothing of Māwardī's family and their station in life. He was appointed Qādī or Judge in various towns and occupied the high and responsible post of Grand Qādī (أقضى القضاة), for which he might have been highly remunerated. We possess some information regarding his being a rich man, as he was handsomely rewarded by the Saljūq and the Buwayhid princes in the course of the various diplomatic missions to which he was deputed by the caliph. The remark made by Jalālu'd-Dawlah² about Māwardī's surpassing other men of his class in wealth and riches, testifies to his sound pecuniary position.

Māwardī was appointed a Qādī (Judge) in several towns and was raised afterwards to the high post of Qādī al-Qūdāt (i.e., Supreme Judge) at Ustuwā, a rural district of Nishāpūr,³ and was finally elevated,

¹ *Al-Muntaẓam*, IX, p. 177.

² See under "Character and Conduct."

³ Brocklemann, I, p. 386.

in the year 429 A.H. to the highest position of *Aqd al-Qūdāt*¹ or Grand *Qādī*, at Bağhdād, where he settled permanently at a quarter named *Darb az-Za'farāni*.² The title of *Aqd al-Qūdāt* conferred upon him, was declared to be illegal by other Jurists like Abu Tayyib at-Tabarī and as-Şaimarī who took exception to it although they had allowed the title of the “King of Kings” (ملك الملوك) for the Prince Jalālu'd-Dawlah, which Māwardī regarded as the usurpation of God's title. But Māwardī did not care about such opinions and enjoyed the title till his death.³ This title of *Aqd al-Qūdāt* continued to be conferred on the Judges as late as the beginning of the seventh century Hijri, as Yāqūt tells us that in his time there was one condition attached to the title to the effect that it should be regarded as inferior to the title of *Qādī al-Qūdāt*, and so it became a matter of mere conventionality rather than one of real significance and propriety.

Māwardī Charged with Mu'tazilism.

Māwardī was a staunch adherent of the Sunnīte faith and belonged to the Shāfi'ite school, as is evident from his writings on the Shāfi'ite Jurispru-

¹ *Yāqūt*, V, p. 407.

² *Sam'ānī*, fol. 504, a quarter at *Karkh* (Bağhdād) named after Abu 'Ali Hasan b. Muhammed as-Şabbāh az-Za'farāni. Mostly the merchants and wealthy persons resided in this quarter and very often it provided an abode for Jurisconsults. (*Mu'jamu'l-Buldān*, IV, p. 48).

dence. He was recognised as a leading exponent of the Shāfi'ite Fiqh on which he was regarded an authority. It is, however, strange to find him charged by some scholars with holding Mu'tazilite views. Yāqūt, on his own information, speaks of him as a Shāfi'ite in the branches of Fiqh (فروع) and a Mu'tazilite in its principles (أصول). Safadī (d. 764 A.H.) while enumerating the names of the Mu'tazilite celebrities, observes that the Shāfi'ites are generally inclined towards Ash'arism, the Ḥanafites to Mu'tazilism, the Mālikites are Qādarites and the Ḥanbalites are Hashwiya, and so to find the name of Māwardī among the Mu'tazilites appears to him very strange.¹ Ibn Ḥijjat al-Ḥamawī (d. 837 A.H.) has also repeated this remark and while giving the names of the leading Mu'tazilites, like Jāhīz, Wāsil, 'Abdul-Jabbār al-Rummānī and Abū 'Ali, puts at the end the name of Māwardī, but expresses his astonishment by saying : "It is very strange."²

The traditionist, Ibnu's-Ṣalāh³ observes :

"I used to hear much about Māwardī, may God forgive him, being charged with Mu'tazilism but I never inquired about it. I used to connive at this charge and tried to explain away those of Māwardī's interpretations of certain Qur'anic verses in respect

¹ *Al-Ğhaithu'l-Musajjam fi Sharḥi Lāmiyatil-'Ajam*, II, p. 32.

² *Thamaratu'l-Awraq*, p. 7, (Cairo).

³ Abū 'Amr Taqī'u'd-Dīn 'Uthmān b. 'Abdur-Rahmān (d. 643 A.H.) a well known Shāfi'ite Jurist and traditionist.

of which there is a difference of opinion among the Sunni and Mu'tazilite commentators. I used to observe that perhaps Māwardī's object was nothing but to collect in his commentary on the Qur'ān all that has been said, rightly or wrongly, for and against, on any subject and hence his quotations from the Mu'tazilite writers. But I found that he has adopted such views of the Mu'tazilites as are based on their wrong principles, for instance, his admission that God does not like the idol-worship, and while commenting on the following verse of the Qur'ān :—

وَكَذَلِكَ جَعَلْنَا لِكُلِّ نَبِيٍّ عَدُوًّا شَيَاطِينَ الْأَنْسَ وَالْجِنِّ

"And likewise did We make for every messenger an enemy from among men and genii,"¹ Māwardī observes, "The word جعلنا (did We make) has a twofold meaning: firstly, God ordained them to become enemies, secondly God predestined them and did not forbid them from becoming enemies."

"Here Māwardī does not refute the interpretation which is in conformity with the Mu'tazilite view and that is why his commentary is full of idle explanations of the people of false creed (أهل الباطل) which he has so surreptitiously inserted in his book that nobody but learned scholars could make them

¹ The Cattle, 14.

out. Notwithstanding this, it is a book written by a man who does not wish to be associated with the Mu'tazilites and so he tries to conceal such ideas of his as are in perfect agreement with their views. And again he is not entirely a Mu'tazilite as he does not subscribe to their open views such as that of the 'creation of the Qur'ān' as is borne out by his interpretation of the following verse :—

وَمَا يَأْتِيهِم مِّنْ ذِكْرٍ مِّنْ دُبُّونَ حَدَّثَ

"And the Prophet brings to them nothing new of their Lord's revealing."¹

'Still, however, we see him share the views of the Mu'tazilites on the doctrine of predestination for which the people of Baṣrah are notorious from time immemorial.'²

One is astonished at the misapprehension of the learned traditionist who is bold enough to accuse Māwardī of Mu'tazilism and in the same breath to express his doubts regarding this allegation. If in his commentary on Qur'ān, Māwardī has written anything which coincides with the Mu'tazilite views, it does not necessarily imply that he belonged to that school, and, we are afraid, many a commentator would not escape such an imputation if he were to

¹ Prophets, I. The Mu'tazilites generally base their argument on this verse for proving that the Qur'ān is created. See Rāzi's *Tafsīr*, Vol. VI, p. 125, (Cairo).

² Subḥī, III. pp. 303-305.

be condemned for the simple quoting of the doctrines of this school of thought without expressing an opinion thereon. Another learned traditionist and great biographer, Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, while noticing Māwardī,¹ has rightly remarked that it is not proper to confound him with the Mu’tazilites. Further on, he observes that the doctrines of this school are well-known, one of them is the obligatory nature of the ordinances (وِحْدَةُ حُكْمٍ) and putting them into action and whether this is derived from Reason or Faith. Māwardī says it is derived from Reason. This and other such views are found in Māwardī’s commentary.² Ibn ‘Imād³ the Ḥanbalite (d. 1089 A.H.), after quoting the criticism of Ibnu’s-Ṣalāḥ, writes that ‘he has accused Māwardī of Mu’tazilism for such of the doctrines as he has himself supposed to coincide with the Mu’tazilite views. But Māwardī does not concur with all the principles of the Mu’tazilites. One of their doctrines is the “createdness of Paradise” which has been refuted by Māwardī.’

From the above-mentioned statements of the learned theologians it is clear that Māwardī had no connection whatever with the Mu’tazilite school. We must also not lose sight of the fact that conditions prevailing in Māwardī’s times were such as to

¹ *Lisanu'l-Mizān*, IV, p. 260.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Shadharāt Dhahab*, Vol. III, p. 286.

impeach any learned theologian, whose views happened to coincide in any respect with any of the heterodox views. This attitude implied a certain predilection on the part of the adherents of one school for the veracity of their own *bona fide* dogmas. The Qādarites or Predestinarians were mostly *Ahl-ul-Hadīth*, but when one of their leading men became convert to Mu'tazilism, a considerable section of the Qādarites joined the Mu'tazilites. Thus "Qādari" and "Mu'tazili" soon became synonymous terms.¹ From this point of view Māwardī cannot be blamed for holding Qādarite opinions which he shared in common with most of the learned theologians of the Shāfi'ite School, particularly those belonging to Basrah. "In this town", observes Von Kremer, "for the first time the doctrine of Free will, which had its origin at Damascus, was developed into a rationalistic school of theology, which subsequently under the name of Mu'tazilite played a distinguished role."²

Māwardī's Role in the Political Affairs of his Times.

On account of his venerable position as a learned theologian and Jurisconsult, Māwardī was held in high esteem by the public as well as by the caliphs

¹ *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. III, p. 789.

² Von Kremer, *Cultur geschichte*, trans. Khudā Baksh, p. 94.

of Baghdād, the Saljūq and the Buwayhid Amīrs who virtually ruled over the caliph's territories. He was sent several times on diplomatic missions and acted as plenipotentiary of the caliph al-Qāim bi-Amrillah¹ (391-460 A.H.), the 26th Abbasid caliph of Baghdād. On the following occasions he was sent as the caliph's envoy to the Saljūq and the Buwayhid princes :—

(1) In the year 422 A.H. when Al-Qāim succeeded to the caliphate of Baghdād, he sent Māwardī to Abu Kālijār,² the Buwayhid ruler, to receive his *Bai'at*, or oath of allegiance, and to arrange for recitation of caliph's name in the Friday Sermon (Khuṭbah) in his territory. The prince took an oath of allegiance to the Caliph, issued orders for recitation of his name in the Khuṭbah, and sent to him valuable presents.³

Ibn-Jawzī gives a long description of Māwardī's

¹ Brocklemann (*Ency. Islam*, III, p. 416) says: "He (Māwardī) often acted for Caliph Al-Kādir (381-422-991-1031) in his negotiations with the Būyids who then ruled at 'Irāq." But this is not correct as according to Arab historians Māwardī was first sent as an envoy by Al-Qāim at the time of his accession in 422 and afterwards by the same caliph in the years 428, 433, 434, and 435, when Al-Qādir did not even exist as he had already died in 422 A.H. There is not a single instance to prove that Al-Qādir ever sent him as an envoy to any prince.

² 'Al-Imad-li-Dīn I'lāh 'Izzu'l-Mulūk Abu Kalijār Marzbān b. Sultān-ad-Dawlah b. Bahā'u'd-Dawlah the Buwayhid prince who succeeded his father in 416 A.H. and died in 440/1048.

³ Ibn Athīr, *Tārikh al-Kāmil*, IX, p. 145.

embassy to Abu Kālijār, which he puts in 423 A.H., and narrates the event in detail, describing his reception and visit to the Amīr, and adds that Abū Kālijār promised to accept the Caliph's overlordship on condition that the title of "the Great Sultān and Lord of the Nations" سلطان (الله مالك امر should be conferred upon him. This Māwardī declined, saying that the title only befitted the caliph. The Amīr next proposed the title of ملك الدولة, King of the Empire, which was agreed to by Māwardī, and he then requested the prince to accept the caliph's obeisance, but the latter promised to accept it after the title was duly conferred upon him. Here Ibn Jawzī gives a long list, on Māwardī's authority, of costly articles and cash amount given by the prince for presentation to the caliph.¹

- (2) In the year 428 Māwardī was sent by the Caliph, with Abū 'Abdillah al-Mardustī, as an ambassador to make peace between the Prince Jalāl u'd-Dawlah² and his nephew Abū-Kālijār At the intervention of the caliph's envoys both the

¹ *Al-Muntaqam*, VIII, p. 65.

² Abu Tāhir b. Bahā'u'd-Dawlah b. Buwayh, Jalālu'd-Dawlah being his honorific title, the Amir who usurped the caliph's throne at Bağhdad.

princes came to terms and received valuable presents from the caliph.¹

- (3) In the year 433 Māwardī at the instance of the caliph went to Tughrilbek,² the first Saljūq ruler of Irāq. The object of this embassy is not given by the Arab chroniclers, but it appears from Ibn Khallikān that the object of Māwardī's mission was to stop the reciting Tughril's name in Khuṭbah and to substitute for it that of the caliph Al-Qāim. Thereupon Māwardī exhorted the Prince to fear God, to govern the subjects with justice and kindness, and to extend his beneficence to the people.³ Both 'Imād Isfahānī and Ibn Athīr write, on the authority of Māwardī himself, that when in the year 433 the caliph al-Qāim sent him to Tughril he wrote a letter to Baghdād in which he reported the vices of the prince and the de-

¹ Ruknu'd-Dīn Abu Ṭalib Muḥammad b. Mikāil, the first King of the Great Saljūqs (429-455 A.H.).

² *Ibn Athīr*, IX, p. 157.

³ *Ibn Khallikān*, II, p. 45. De Slane, the English translator of *Ibn Khallikān*, (Vol. III, p. 239, note), says that 'Imād Isfahānī who gives the names of two ambassadors, *viz.*, Abū-Bakr aṭ-Ṭūsī and Abū-Muhammad Hibatullah b. Muḥammad 'al-Māmūnī, makes no mention of Māwardī. But these two persons were sent later on, on a different occasion, as we learn from al-Bundārī (*Tārikh Al-i-Saljūq*, pp. 8-9) where we find that these two envoys were sent by Al-Qāim in 437 A.H. for inviting Tughril to Baghdād.

vastated condition of the territory and severely criticized him in every respect. The letter was dropped somewhere by Māwardī's servant and by chance it fell into the hands of a man who took it to Tughril. On reading the letter Tughril concealed it and did not utter a word about it, nor did he make any change in his courtesy and regard which he showed to Māwardī.¹

4. In the year 434 A.H. Māwardī was sent to the Buwayhid Prince Jalāl-ud-Dawlah when the latter had interfered with the caliph's private sources of income realised from the newly-conquered colonies. It was customary with the Muslim princes to refrain from interfering with the revenues set apart for the Caliph's private expenditure, but the Buwayhid Prince was so imprudent as to lay hands on the caliph's income. The matter took a serious turn, and the caliph sent Māwardī to the prince in order to secure his rights. He also wrote several letters, but the prince did not pay any heed to these entreaties. Al-Māwardī thereupon exhorted Jalāl-ud-Dawlah, who, from the next year, desisted from his action² and re-

¹ *Ibn Athir*, IX, p. 9; *Bundārī*, p. 26.

² *Ibid.*, p. 177.

turned the colonies to the caliph.¹

5. In the year 435 Māwardī was sent by the caliph to make peace between Tughrilbek the Saljūq and Jalālad-Dawlah² the Buwayhid and his nephew, Abū Kālijār, when these Saljūq and the Dailamite Turks were engaged in war against each other, and the troops of Tughril had invaded Rayy and laid it waste, killing all the inhabitants, who were three thousand in number. Tughrilbek was camping at that time at Jurjān. Having been informed of Māwardī's arrival, Tughril walked up to 4 *farsakhs* (leagues) from his camping-ground to receive the caliph's envoy with due honour. Māwardī reprimanded Tughril for having perpetrated the onslaught at Rayy and other cities and exhorted him to treat his subjects with kindness. Tughril rewarded Māwardī with thirty thousand Dīnārs for honouring him with his company. He also sent twenty thousand Dīnārs for the caliph and paid ten thousand Dīnārs to Māwardī's servants. On his return

¹ *Al-Muntaẓam*, VIII, p. 114.

² Jalālad-Dawlah sought to make peace with the Saljūqs, but as he died in the same year, the result desired was only attained under his successor, Abu Kālijār in 439. See *Ibn-Āthir*, IX, p. 184.

from his mission in 436,¹ Māwardī reported to the caliph the cordial reception accorded to him by Tughril, his stay with the prince, and the respect shown towards the caliph's letter²

Character and Conduct of Māwardī.

Māwardī, as befitted his high position, as a Juris-consult and Grand Qādī, was a very polite, grave, pious, and trustworthy man.³ One of his pupils,⁴ who studied under him for five years at his residence, says: "I have not seen any person more serious than Māwardī; I never heard him laughing at any time and I could never perceive his forearm open from the time when I kept company with him till he left this world."⁵

That he was modest and free from conceit, is evidenced from the following anecdote described by Māwardī himself. He writes:—

"Once I composed a treatise on legal transactions in which I gathered all available materials from almost all the books written

¹ It appears that Māwardī went to Tughril shortly before the death of Jalal u'd-Dawlah in the month of Sha'bān 435 A.H. and returned in the beginning of 436 A.H. This shows that Māwardī might have stayed with Tughril for more than 6 months.

² *Ibn Athir*, IX, p. 180; *Al-Muntazam*, VIII, p. 233.

³ *Al-Muntazam*, VIII, p. 199.

⁴ 'Abdul-Malik al-Hamadani, his pupil No. 9.

⁵ *Yāqūt*, V, p. 408.

on the subject. I endeavoured my utmost to make the work as complete and comprehensive as possible. After the book was finished I felt myself proud of this achievement and thought myself an authority on the subject. One day when I was sitting in my study (Majlis) two Beduins came up to me and enquired from me as to the validity of a bargain entered into by them in the desert on certain stipulations involving four issues. I began to ponder over the matter but was at a loss to solve the knotty problem. Hearing no reply from me, one of the Beduins remarked: "You are a leading Jurist, are you not able to satisfy us on this point of law?" To this I replied in the negative, whereupon the Beduins said "Fie on thee!" and they walked out. At last they approached another Jurist who was not even equal to any of my pupils in legal knowledge, and their difficulty was solved. Satisfied with the solution of their problem, the Beduins praised the man's ability and learning, while I sat bewildered and perplexed at my failure to solve the simple question in spite of my vast knowledge; and though not a bit from the stock of my knowledge was

lessened, yet I felt it was, as it were a heavenly warning and a challenge to my self-conceit, and I thanked God for driving out this vice from me."¹

Māwardī possessed high moral courage, especially in religious matters he was bold and fearless. He never hesitated to declare the truth to the very face of the rulers. The following incident will serve as a fine illustration of his intrepid disposition:—

In the year 429 A.H., in the month of Ramadān, the Buwayhid prince Jalāl ud-Dawlah asked the caliph's² permission to assume the title of "King of Kings" (ملك الملوك). The caliph resolved to confer this title on the prince and accordingly he gave orders to recite this title in the Friday Sermon (Khuṭbah) along with the Prince's name. When the title was recited, there was a great commotion and the congregation showed their aversion to it and threw brickbats at the Imāms of the mosques by way of protest. The caliph then asked the learned Jurists to pronounce their legal opinion in the matter. The learned Jurists Qādī Abu'ṭ-Ṭayyib at-Tabari (d. 450), Qādī Abū-'Abdillah aş-Şaimari, Qādī Ibn u'l-Baidāwī and Abu'l-Qāsim al-Karkhī held it permissible. Aş-Şaimari wrote that in assuming

¹ Māwardī, *Adābu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Din*, pp. 40-41, (Cairo 1327).

² The caliph at that time was Al-Qaim and not Al-Muqtadir, whose name has been wrongly mentioned by Brocklemann (*Ency. Islam*) ; Al-Muqtadir was born in 448, i.e., 19 years after this event.

such titles only the intention is to be considered, as for instance the Qur'ān says: "God hath appointed Ṭālūt as King over you".¹ "And there was besides them a king." It is possible that there may be someone superior over the others in dignity and power and there can be no question of likeness between God and His creatures. At-Ṭabarī wrote that it is lawful to call a man "King of Kings", which implies the King's superiority over all the Kings of the earth, and when it is permissible to designate a person as Kāfi'l-Kūfāt and Qādi'l-Qudāt (Judge of the Judges), on the same analogy it should also be held lawful to call a man "King of Kings," because the intention in assuming this title is merely to claim the position of the Ruler of the Earth. At-Ṭabarī also added that the suspicion is removed when the Imāms pray in the mosques for the Prince (along with this title) : 'O God make the king righteous", the invocation being to the Creator on behalf of the King. The Hanbalite Jurist at-Tamīmī also supported this view. But some Jurists, who entertained antagonistic opinions, held the title to be unlawful, as in their opinion no man had a right to designate himself as "King of Kings", because this title only befitted Almighty God. The arguments of the protagonists did not appeal to Māwardī who opposed their views and vehemently repudiated their contention and car-

¹ *Qur'ān*, II, Cow.

ried on a vigorous campaign of controversy against them. Although Māwardī was one of the favourite attendants of the court of Jalāl ud-Dawlah and was his table-companion, he refrained from attending it and did not stir out of his home from the month of Ramadān to 'Idū'l-Adhā (the sacrificial festival occurring on the 10th of the month of Dhu'l-Hijjah), on account of his opposition. At last he was called by the Prince at his court, and on his arrival he was given immediate audience in the Prince's private chamber. "Everybody knows", said Jalāl ud-Dawlah, "that you have surpassed other 'Ulema in position and wealth on account of your being a favourite of the royal court. Your opposition to my earthly desire was absolutely free from any selfish motive, which goes to prove your true love and sincere regard for the sacred ordinances of our holy Shari'at. Your trenchant religious fervour and unflinching moral courage have enhanced your esteem and position in my eyes, that is why I have rewarded you by admitting you alone and have left the admission of other attendants of my court to your discretion, so as to make them realize that I have acquiesced in your opinion. Thereupon Māwardī expressed his gratitude to the Prince and granted audience to the persons waiting upon him.¹

¹ *Ibn Jawzī, Al-Muntaqam*, VIII, pp. 97-98; *Ibn Athīr*, IX, p. 158; *Subki* III, p. 305. In this connection Ibn Jawzī observes:—
"Personally I concur with Māwardī's opinion because according to

Death.

Māwardī breathed his last on Tuesday the 30th of Rabī' I, 450 A.H. (May 1058 A.D.), at Baghdād, at the age of 86 years. He was interred the next morning, in the cemetery at the Gate of Ḥarb^۱. (باب الْحَرْبِ). His funeral prayers were led by his pupil Al-Khaṭīb of Baghdād, at the Friday mosque

Hadīth the title is quite unlawful.”

Then he has cited the following 3 traditions with their chains of Isnād as recorded in the corpus of Al-Bukhārī and Muslim, in support of his contention :—

(۱) اخْنُعْ اسْمَرْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ رَجُلٌ تَسْمَى بِهِ مَلِكُ الْأَمْلاَكَ .

(a) “The perfidious name (before God) on Doomsday is that of a man who names himself King of Kings.”

(۲) افْيِظْ رَجُلٌ عَلَى اللَّهِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ وَاخْبِثْهُ رَحْلٌ يَسْمَى مَلِكَ

الْأَمْلاَكَ لَا اللَّهَ .

(b) “Intolerable and the most abominable is the person on Doomsday who names himself King of Kings, as the world does not belong to anyone except Allah.”

(۳) اشْتَدَّ فَضْبَطُ اللَّهِ عَلَى رَجُلٍ قَتَلَهُ نَبِيًّا وَ اشْتَدَّ فَضْبَطُ اللَّهِ عَلَى

رَجُلٍ تَسْمَى بِهِ مَلِكُ الْأَمْلاَكَ لَا اللَّهَ سَبَعَانِهِ وَ تَعَالَى .

(c) “The wrath of God will be incurred by a man who killed his Prophet and by a man who names himself King of Kings and the world belongs to none but Allah the Great.”

Commenting on this incident As-Subki observes that God's will made itself manifest, as only six years after this event the Buwayhid rule was cut short by the demise of the Prince Jalālu'd-Dawlah in 435 A.H.

^۱ A quarter at Baghdad named after Ḥarb b. 'Abdullah al-Balkhī ar-Rāwandi, the general of the Caliph al-Manṣūr. The remains of Bisr al-Ḥāfi, al-Khaṭīb and other Muslim celebrities are interred in the cemetery situated in this quarter. *Yāqūt, Mu'jamul-Buldān*, II, p. 15 ; III, p. 245.

of Madīnatū'l-Mansūr.¹

It is very strange to find the date of Māwardī's death fixed in 456 A.H. by Ibnu'l-Khaṭīb, a later writer of the eighth century.² But this is against the date given by all his biographers, especially his contemporary Al-Khaṭīb of Baghdād, who was present at Māwardī's funeral.

Ibn-Baṭlān, a Christian physician of Baghdād (d. 455 A.H.) has enumerated the great epidemics of his time to which within a few years contemporary men of letters fell victims, and has thus provided us with a death-roll of distinguished savants,³ including Māwardī, at the end of which he remarks :—

“On their departure the torch of learning was extinguished and the human intellect remained groping in the dark.”

¹ *Tārikh Baghdād*, No. 6539. The Jāmi'u'l-Madīna, or Madīnatū'l-Mansūr, was built by Mansūr the Abbasid caliph. It existed when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Baghdād in 727/1327, but at present no trace of this mosque is to be found.

² *Kitābu'l-Wafayāt*, p. 22, by Abul-'Abbas Ahmad b. Husain b. 'Ali, known as Ibnu'l-Khaṭīb, edited by M. Hidāyat Husain, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, New Series, Vol. VIII, 1912.

* The following celebrities are mentioned by Ibn Baṭlān :—

Theologians : Al-Murtadā, Abul-Hasan al-Baḡrī, Abul-Husain al-Qudūrī the jurist, Chief Justice Al-Māwardī, Qādi Abu Ṭayyib at-Ṭabarī.

Philosophers and Scientists : Abu 'Alī Ibn Ḥaitham, Abu Sa'id al-Yamāmī, Abū 'Alī Ibnu's-Samḥ, Sa'id the Physician, Abul-Faraj 'Abdullah Ibn at-Ṭabīb.

Literary men and Poets : 'Alī b. 'Isā ar-Rab'i, Abul-Fatḥ of Nisābur, Miḥyār the Poet, Abū 'Alā b. Nazīk, Abū 'Alī b. Muśilaya, Abul-Hasan aṣ-Ṣābi, Abul-'Alā al-Ma'arrī.

As An Author

In the galaxy of Muslim writers and authors Māwardī occupies a prominent place. He was a prolific writer and composed several books on various subjects: Qur'anic commentary, Hadīth, Jurisprudence, Politics, Ethics and Grammar. The main theme of his works was Islamic law, on which he was engaged for a number of years.

It appears that Māwardī wrote two books, *viz.*, *al-Aḥkāmu's-Sultāniya* and *al-'Iqnā'*, at the instance of contemporary rulers, and about the latter work we are informed by Yāqūt that it was written in compliance with the order of al-Qādir-Billah, the Abbasid caliph (d. 422 A.H.); but since the book has been lost, we are unable to verify this information. In respect of *Aḥkām* we learn from the author himself that the book was composed by the order of some contemporary ruler under whom Māwardī served. He writes in the prologue of his book:

"The constitutional laws of the Empire, which are obligatory on the officials of the State, have been so mixed up with other laws that the officials could not go through them carefully on account of their preoccupation with political and administrative affairs. I therefore

brought out a separate book on the subject, and in so doing I have obeyed the order of one to whom obeisance is obligatory, in order to enable him to understand the views of the Jurists on the matters with which he ought to be thoroughly acquainted, and to have a clear insight into the pros and cons of the subject."¹

From the above statement it can be easily inferred that Māwardī was prompted to write this book at the instance of the caliph al-Qāim.

Since Māwardī, unlike other Arabic authors, is not in the habit of giving dates of composition at the end of his books, it is not possible to fix the dates and times of their composition.

Ibn-Khallikān, followed by Şafadī and Subkī, has related a curious anecdote about the publication of Māwardī's works which runs as follows :

"It is said that, whilst he lived, he did not publish any of his works, but put them all up together in a (safe) place, and that, on the approach of death he said to a person

¹ Aḥkām, p. 2 (Cairo). The original text runs as under :

"وَمَا كَانَتِ الْاِحْكَامُ السُّلْطَانِيَّةُ بِوَلَاتِ الْاِمْرِ اَحْقَ وَ كَانَ اسْتَرْجَاهَا
بِعِيْعَالْاِحْكَامِ لِقَطِيعِهِمْ عَنْ تَصْنِيفِهِمْ مَعْ تَشَافِلِهِمْ بِالسِّيَاسَةِ وَالتَّدْبِيرِ
اَفْرَدَتْ لَهَا كِتَابًا اَمْتَثَلَتْ فِيهِ اَمْرٌ مِنْ لَزْمَتْ طَاعَتْهُ لِيَعْلَمْ مَذَاهِبَ
الْفَقِيَّاهِ فِيمَا لَهُ مِنْهَا فَيَسْتَوْ فِيهِ وَ مَا عَلَيْهِ مِنْهَا فَوْقَهِهِ -"

who possessed his confidence :

"The books in such a place were composed by me, but I abstained from publishing them, because I suspected that, although my intention in writing them was to work in God's service, that feeling, instead of being pure, was sullied by baser motives. Therefore, when you perceive me at the point of death and falling into agony, take my hand in yours, and if I press it, you will know thereby that none of these works has been accepted from me; in this case, you must take them all and throw them by night into the Tigris; but if I open my hand and close it not, that is the sign of their having been accepted, and that my hope in the admission of my intention as sincere and pure has been fulfilled."

"When Al-Māwardī's death drew near," said that person, "I took him by the hand, he opened it without closing it into mine, whence I knew that his labours had been accepted and, then, I published his works.' "¹

¹ De Slane's *English Translation*, Vol. II, p. 225.

Commenting on this story Subkī remarks that if the story may be true, it only pertains to his book *al-Hāwī*, as he (Subkī) had seen several of Māwardī's books bearing his attestation showing that they were read with him by his pupils in his life-time.¹ But it is rather strange to find that Tāsh Köprüzada, while quoting Subkī, writes that the story may be true about Māwardī's other books but not about *al-Hāwī*.²

The story appears incredible on account of its improbability, as we have already seen that two books of Māwardī were written at the instance of contemporary rulers. It has also come to our knowledge that Māwardī's commentary was read with him in his life-time by a Spanish scholar. We do not know how this apocryphal account found its way into his biographical notice. It may perhaps have been invented by one of his ingenious opponents in order to discredit him for having written books without a pure motive at the instance of the princes and rulers for the sake of worldly gain.

The man who published Māwardī's books was most probably his pupil Muhammad b. 'Ubaidullah the Qādī of Baṣrah (d. 499), as we learn from Yāqūt that he transmitted (وَرَدَ) all the books from his master.³

¹ *Subkī*, III, pp. 303-304.

² *Miftāḥ*, II, p. 191.

³ *Irshād*, VII, p. 30. He died in 499 and according to Ibn Athir (X, p. 145) at that time his age was 83, thus he was 34 years of age when Māwardī died in 450.

List of Māwardī's Works

1. —تفسير الماوردي. A commentary on Qur'ān, in 3 volumes.¹ It is entitled (النكت والعيون) (*Epigrams and Aspects*). Some writers² have mentioned two different commentaries on Qur'ān by him, the one being (النكت والعيون) تفسير القرآن and the other, but in fact these are two names of one and the same book.

A complete manuscript of this book is preserved in the library of Jāmi‘ al-Qarawīyin at Fez (*Fās*).³ Another copy in three volumes in the Köprülü, (Nos. 23 to 25), at Constantinople. Two manuscripts in the Public Library (المكتبة العمومية) at Maidān Bāyazid and Kılıch 'Ali (No. 90), at Constantinople.⁴ An old manuscript up to سورة المائدة comprising 428 pages and dated 577 A.H., is preserved in the Rampur State Library, the scribe's name being Ja'far b. 'Ali b. Mir 'Abdu'l-Ghani, known as Ibn at-Ṭabib.⁵

2. كتاب المأوى في الفروع (the Comprehensive) in 30 volumes. The title is borrowed from a work of this name written by Muḥammad b. Sa'īd Abi'l-Qādī,⁶ Hāji Khalifa says the book is in

¹ Ibn 'Imād Shadharāt-adh-Dhahab, iii, p. 285.

² Ibn Khallikān (I, p. 326) and Abul-Fidā (II, p. 179) both mention (النكت والعيون) تفسير القرآن and تفسير العيون as two separate books.

³ *Fihrist Masjid al-Qarawīyin*, No. 215.

⁴ Introduction to Māwardī's Ādāb-ul-Wazīr.

⁵ *Fihrist Kutub-i-'Arabi*, I. P. 43.

⁶ Subki II, p. 159.

10 volumes.¹ The Khedivial Library possesses two manuscripts, one comprising 23 volumes, the 8th volume being incomplete, the other MS. is an old copy dated 638 A.H. in 14 volumes, the scribe's name being 'Ali b. 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad Ash-Shāfi'i as-Suyūtī.² An oldest and complete manuscript, formerly in the collection of Ahmad Ṭal'at Bek, is preserved in the Dāru'l-Kutub al-Miṣriya. Some volumes of this manuscript were copied in the 6th century Hijri. There is one manuscript in the Sulaimāniya mosque at Constantinople.³ A portion of the book on *Hudūd* (penal law), comprising 312 folios and dated 635 A.H., is in the library of the British Museum, Or. 5828.⁴ The Bankipore library possesses volumes 9th, 21st and 26th of the book.⁵

3. الحاکم والسلطانیۃ (The Government Statute, or Political Constitutions). Jalālu'd-Dīn as-Suyūtī has written an abridgement of this book.⁶ There is a manuscript of this book dated 540 A.H. in the British Museum.⁷ The original text has been edited by M. Max Enger and published at Bonn, in 1853.

¹ *Kashf* I, p. 417.

² *Fihrist Kutubkhānati'l-Khedivialya*, III, pp. 215-16.

³ No. 436.

⁴ Ellis & Edwards, *Descriptive Hand List*, p. 322.

⁵ Nos. 865 to 867, comprising pp. 198, 202, 209 respectively (*Fihrist Miftāhul-Kunūz*, Vol. I, pp. 85-86).

⁶ *Hajī Khalīfa* I, p. 55.

⁷ *Hand list of Arabic manuscripts*, p. 62.

The book has also been published at Cairo in 1298 A.H.

4. قوانين الوزارة و سياسة الملك (The Rules of Ministership and King's Politics). Some writers have considered it two separate works probably because of the double title it bears. Thus De Slane¹ has taken it to be two different books and Hājī Khalifa has also noticed the two titles separately.² The book نصيحة الملوك ascribed to Māwardī by Brocklemann,³ (manuscript in Paris, De Slane No. 2443, 3), is most probably a copy of the above-named book, as none of Māwardī's biographers has mentioned it. It is published in Cairo in 1929.

5. تسهيل النصر و تعجیل الظفر (Facilitating the succour and hastening the victory). This is mentioned only by Yāqūt⁴ and Hājī Khalifa,⁵ but none of them informs us as to its subject. Only Huart and Brocklemann have stated the subject of the book. تسهيل النصر و تعجیل الظفر⁶. A manuscript is preserved in the library at Gotha.

6. اعلام النبوة (Signs of Prophethood). Subkī and Tāsh Köprüzāda have written the name of this book as دلائل النبوة⁷ which is not correct, although

¹ II, O. 225.

² Vol. II, 39, 218.

³ I, p. 386.

⁴ Vol. V, p. 408.

⁵ Vol. I, p. 286.

⁶ Arabic Literature, p. 244; Ency. of Islam, III, p. 416.

⁷ Tabaqat, III, p. 303; Miftah, II, p. 190.

the latter has also given the correct title.¹ MSS. in Berlin and Cairo. It has also been printed in Baghdād in 1319 A.H.

7. ادب القاضى (Laws relating to the Qādī or Judge). This work is not mentioned by any writer except Brocklemann who points out that a manuscript of the book exists in the Sulaimāniya mosque at Constantinople, No. 381. But I presume that it may be the chapter on ادب القاضى from *Ahkām* or *al-Hāwī*.

8. امثال القرآن (Qur'ānic Similitudes). The book under this title is mentioned only by Tash, Köprüzāda² and Hājī Khalifa,³ while Brocklemann who mentions a manuscript of this book in Leyden, gives the title as امثال الحكيم and says it is a collection of 300 traditions, 300 wise sayings and 300 verses in 10 *fasl* to 30 proverbs.⁴ Goldziher has named it منشور الحكيم,⁵ but I think all these three titles are of one and the same book.

9. اذناع في المذهب (To make one contented in the Shāfi'ite school). Ibn-'Imād's observation⁶ that the book deals with the غرائب القرآن or "strange words" in the Qur'ān, is obviously incorrect.

¹ Vol. I, pp. 263, 301.

² *Miftah*, II, p. 368.

³ *Ibid.*, I, p. 150.

⁴ *Ency. of Islam*.

⁵ The article "Fālsūf" in the *Ency. of Islam*. A MS. of this book is preserved in the Yale University Library.

⁶ *Shadharat*, III, p. 287.

10. ادب الدنيا والدين (Instruction, secular and religious). Printed at Stambul and Cairo. Uwais Wafā b. Dāūd al-Arzanjānī has written a commentary on this book entitled *منهاج اليقين*, printed at Stambul in 1328 A.H. A synopsis prepared by Ibn Liyūn (d. 776-1376), a teacher of the Wazīr Lisānu'ddīn al-Khaṭīb of Spain, named *معرفة الفضائل*, is preserved in the Escurial Library.¹

11. السكاف شرح مختصر المزني (the Sufficient). A commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Ismā'il b. Yaḥyā al-Muzanī.² This is not mentioned by any other writer except Subkī, but at a different place. He has also given some extracts from this book.³

12. كتاب في النحو (Book on Grammar). Only Yāqūt speaks of this work and states that he had seen this book which was of the bulk of *عيضاح*, the well-known book on Arabic grammar by Abū 'Ali al-Fārisī.

13. كتاب في سيرة النبيوية. At the end of his book *اعلام النبوة* Māwardī says that he proposed to write a separate book on the life of the Prophet dealing with his holy wars (*al-Jihād*). It is not known whether the book was ever written as no trace of

¹ Derenbourg, II, p. 748.

² A well-known and leading Shāfi'iite Jurist and one of the famous disciples of Imām Shāfi'i died in 264 A.H. His book *al-Mukhtaṣar* is an abridged recension of al-Shāfi'i's *Kitābu'l-Umm* and is a recognised compendium of the Shāfi'iite school.

³ Subkī, III, p. 174.

this proposed work has been found.

14. كتاب في الجموع (A book on Transactions). Māwardī in his book ادب الدنيا والدين refers to this book on legal transactions. The book is not otherwise known to us.

X

ARABIC SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF GUJARAT SULTANATE

THE history of Gujarat Sultanate has not received the fuller and exhaustive treatment it rightly deserves. The historical events that took place in Gujarat during the Muslim rule, have adequately found their place in the general Indian histories written by Indian historians in Persian and adapted in translation by Elliot in his monumental work, the *History of India As Told By Its Own Historians*. Besides this, there are about a dozen local chronicles in Persian¹ dealing exclusively with the history of

¹ The following works were especially written on the history of the Sultans of Gujarat:

1. *Tārikh-i-Muzaffar Shāhi*, on Muzaffar Shāh I. No MS. of this book is found.
2. *Tārikh-i-Āḥmad Shāhi*, on Āḥmad Shah I., by Ḥulwī Shirāzī in verse. No MS. of this book is found.
3. *Tabaqāt-i-Mahmūd Shāhi*, on Mahmūd Begda. MS. in the British Museum (see Rieu's catalogue, iii, p. 966).
4. *Tārikh-i-Muzaffar Shāhi*, on Muzaffar II. MSS. in the British Museum and Bholānath Library at Ahmedabad. Edited by M. Abu Zafar Nadvi and published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society.
5. *Tārikh-i-Bahādur Shāhi*, on Bahādur Shāh. No MS. in existence. Copious extracts and references are found in later works.
6. *Maṭṭhir-i-Mahmūd Shāhi*, on Mahmūd II. No MS. is found. This book and *Tabaqāt-i-Mahmūd Shāhi* are not identical as

the Sultans of Gujarat, out of which only few have been brought to light¹ and still many more are in manuscript preserved in different libraries of India and Europe awaiting study and research.

The accounts of the Arab geographers and travellers relating to Gujarat contain a good deal of historical material which has been collected under the caption of "Arab References"² and need not be mentioned here inasmuch as it pertains to the pre-Muslim period of Gujarat history. There is only one book in Arabic solely devoted to the history of Gujarat Sultanate and that is Hājī ad-Dabīr's *Zafaru'l-Wālih bi-Muzaffar wa Ālih*. Still, however, innumerable references are found in various historical and biographical works in Arabic throwing light on many obscure and moot points of

some writers have suggested.

7. *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, dealing with the history of Gujarat Sultans. Published long ago. Several MSS. are found. English translation by Fazlullah.
8. *Tārikh-i-Gujarat* by Mīr Abū Turāb Wali. Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
9. *Tuhfatus-Sādāt* by Ārām Kashmīrī. No MS. is found.
10. *Tārikh-i-Muzaffar Shāhi*, on Muzaffar III. No MS. is found.
11. *Tārikh-i-Gujarat*, by Mahmūd b. Jalāl Munawwirul-Mulk Bukhārī. MS. in Bodleian Library at Oxford No. 271. The book is a sort of diary and was written after 924 A.H.
12. *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*. General history of the Muslim period of Gujarat. Published long ago. English translation of a small portion by James Bird.

¹ Out of the above works only Nos. 4, 7, 8, & 12 have been published.

² By Khan Sahib Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi of Surat, contributed to the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, pt. II, The extracts from the travels of the Arab geographers have been made by Elliot in his history of India, Vol. I.

medieval Gujarat history. The importance of such Arabic works has been duly emphasised in the following words by Sir E. Denison Ross in his Introduction to the History of Gujarat by Professor Commissariat :

"Help is also to be derived from the various chronicles in Arabic dealing with the Hejaz, the Yemen and Eden, and with the conquest of Egypt and the resultant control of the Red Sea by the Ottoman Turks. Most of these works had long been known to historians but some we know only by quotation."

So far as I am aware, with the exception of only one or two, the Arabic works which I propose to describe herein below, have scarcely been utilized heretofore. If the information contained in these works is collected together, it will surely provide historical, biographical, and literary material for study and research on the history of Gujarat Sultanate.

Arabic Sources

1. *الضوء الالام في اهل القرن التاسع Ad Dawu'l-Lāmi' fi Ahli'l qarni'ttāsi*: A biographical dictionary of the lives of Muslim scholars and learned divines who flourished in the 9th century Hijri, by Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abdur-Rahmān as-Sakhāwī,¹

¹ For his life and works see *an-Nūru's-Sāfir*, p. 16.

(d. 902 A.H.). This book gives some information regarding Ahmedabad, its Sultans and its learned men. It has been printed in 12 volumes at Cairo.

2. بَدَائِعُ الزَّهْوَرِ فِي وَقَاعِدِ الْدَّهْوَرِ *Badāyi'az-Zuhūr fi Waqāyi'id-Duhūr*, by Ahmad b. Iyās of Egypt (d. 932 A.H.). This is a history of Egypt in 5 volumes, out of which vols. 1 and 2 have already been published at Cairo, the remaining 3 vols. have been edited by Paul Kaleh and Muhammed Muṣṭafa and printed in Stambul in 1931. Volumes 4th and 5th describe the relations of the Sultans of Gujarat with the Ghorīs and Turkish Sultans, with special reference to the former's aid against the Portuguese.

3. رِيَاضُ الرِّضْوَانِ فِي مَآذِنِ الْمُسْنَدِ الْعَالِيِّ أَصْفَ خَانُ *Riyāḍ ur-Ridwān fi Maāthir'il Musnid'il 'alī Aṣaf Khan*, by Shihābud-dīn Ahmad b. Muhammed b. Ḥajar al-Haitami,¹ a famous jurist and man of letters of Shāfi'iite school (b. 909 d. 974). Memoirs of 'Abdul-'Azīz Aṣaf Khān, the Wazir of Sultān Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat, who migrated to Mecca with the treasures and family of his royal master.² While at Mecca Aṣaf Khān formed friendly relations with many learned scholars and literary men,

¹ *an-Nūru's-Sāfir*. p. 287.

² Students of Gujarat history are well aware that in the year 1935 when Bahādur Shāh apprehended the danger of an internecine war with the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn, he thought it advisable to send his family with his valuable treasure to Mecca in the company of his trusted minister Aṣaf Khan who accordingly went there, stayed over there for 12 years and returned to Ahmedabad in 1548.

among them being Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitami, an erudite man of vast learning. He wrote the reminiscence of Āṣaf Khān in a small treatise as the title of the book indicates. An abridged text of this work is to be found in *Zafar'ul-wālih* by Hāji ad-Dabīr with his running commentary. The MSS. of the original text are preserved in Leiden and Berlin libraries.

4. مِرْأَةُ الْمُمَالِكَ *Mir'ātul-Mamālik*, or mirror of the countries, by 'Ali b. Ḥusain, well known as Sidi 'Ali Raīs Qapūdān (Captain),¹ a great explorer, oceanographer and man of letters of Turkey, who was the Captain of the Egyptian fleet of Sulaimān the magnificent, the great Ottoman Emperor. He was ordered to carry 15 Turkish ships from Basra down to Persian Gulf and up the Arabian Sea to Suez. But not being well acquainted with the vagaries of the monsoon of the Indian Coast, the Captain lost his way and also his fleet, and was obliged to make his way overland from Gujarat, through upper India, Sind, Afghanistan, Khutān, Tūrān, Khurāsān, Khwārizm, Qibchāq and Asia Minor to Constantinople. In chapter 4th of the book the Captain writes about his adventures in India and in chapter 5th he deals with those he encountered in Gujarat. In 1554 he was in Ahmedabad where he finished his colossal work *Muhīt* (the ocean) a work of great merit

¹ For his life and works see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, 287-88; also Commissariat's *History of Gujarat*, pp. 477-488, which gives his account of Gujarat affairs.

indeed, dealing with Muslim oceanography. He was a poet also and bore the *nom-de-plume* "Kātibi." He came to Gujarat in the reign of Ah̄mad Shāh (961/1553-969/1561) and gives an account of the contemporary affairs he witnessed there. A complete text of his book was published in 1313 A.H. (1897) at Constantinople. It has been translated into different European languages. A. Vambery's English translation, *The Travels and Adventures of Turkish Admiral, Sidi 'Ali Reis*, appeared in 1899 in London.

5. البرق اليماني في فتح العثماني *Al-Barqu'l Yamāni fī Fathī'l 'Uthmānī*, a history of Turkish rule in Yemen beginning with the year 900 A.H. up to the accession to the throne of Sultān Murād III in 982 A.H. The author Qutbu'd-dīn Muḥammad b. Qādi Khān Maḥmūd was born in 917 at Mecca where his father, a member of a scholarly Indian family, had migrated from Nahrwāla, the Anhilwad Pattan of Gujarat, and hence his surname *an-Nahrwāli*.¹ The book contains an account of the wars of Sultān Bahādur Shāh with the Portuguese. It also treats of the 'Sulaimani Guns' sent for the Sultān by Sultān Salīm of Turkey with Sulaimān Pāsha in 945 (1538).

6. النور السافر عن أخبار القرن العاشر *An-Nūru's-Sāfir 'an-Akhbāri'l-qarnil-'āshir*, by Muhyid-dīn 'Abdu'l-

¹ For his life and work see *an-Nūrus-Sāfir*, p. 383; Dhail Shaqqāiqun-Nu'māniyah on the margin of Ibn Khallikān, Vol. II, p. 258; *Ency. of Islam*, iii, p. 834.

Qādir b. Shaikh b. 'Abdullah al-Aidrūsi (d. 1037 A.H.). The author's family belonged to Yemen. His father came to India and settled in Gujarat. The author was born at Ahmedabad and also died there. His long sojourn in Ahmedabad kept him in touch with the events that happened in Gujarat. The book is a biographical dictionary containing obituary notices of the learned men who flourished in the 10th century Hijri. The author has, *inter alia*, recorded the events that took place in Gujarat during that century. The book was written in 1012 A.H., and printed at Baghdād in 1353 A.H. With a view to give an idea of its importance and utility, a summary table of incidents and events recorded chronologically in the book, is given here below :—

- p. 92 Death of Sultān Maḥmūd, the ruler of Gujarat and his biographical notice.
- pp. 143-157 Muḥammad b. 'Umar Bahraq, the religious tutor of Sultān Muzaffar II.
- „ 191-192 Death of Sultān Muzaffar b. Maḥmūd and his biographical notice.
- p. 200 Death of Amīr Salmān the Turk.
- „ 203 Muṣṭafa Bihrām reaching India.
- „ 208 Expedition of Humāyūn to Gujarat and defeat of Sultān Bahādur.
- „ 210 Murder of Sultān Bahādur at Dīv port.
- „ 240 Death of Mulla 'Imād aṭ-Ṭārimi and his biographical notice.

- p. 241 Murder of Ṣafar Salmāni *alias Khudāwand Khān.*
- „ 242 Return of Āṣaf Khān from Mecca to Gujarat and his biographical notice.
- „ 252 Murder of Sultān Mahmūd (II) and a description of his murder.
- „ 256 Alafkhān, the Prime Minister, reaching Surat.
- „ 268 Murder of Aḥmad Shāh and return of Chingīz Khān to Surat.
- „ 268 Chingīz Khān going to Surat second time and destruction of a portion of the city wall.
- „ 268 Khudāwand Khān, the Governor of Surat, going to the towns of the infidels (non-Muslims).
- „ 268 Murder of Khudāwand Khān.
- „ 315 Death of 'Ali Muttaqi, the saint, and his biographical notice.
- „ 343 Flood in some rivers at Ahmedabad.
- „ 343 Blood seen in some water-pools at Ahmedabad.
- „ 349 Akbar's conquest of Gujarat.
- „ 352 Akbar's arrival in Gujarat.
- „ 352 A great storm of wind and dust at Ahmedabad.
- „ 361 Death of Miyān 'Abduṣ-Ṣamad, the saint (of Ahmedabad).

- p. 361 Martyrdom of the great Muslim divine Jamāluddīn Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, the 'King of Traditionists' and his biographical notice.
- , 370 The city of Ahmedabad, its foundation and its rulers.
- , 379 Death of Shaikh 'Abdun-Nabi as martyr.
- , 383 Death of Shaikh Qutbuddīn Ḥanafī of Mecca and Nahrawāla.
- , 404 Muẓaffar taking Gujarat back from the Mughals.
- , 440 Death of Alafkhān.

So far as I know the book has scarcely been utilized by writers on the history of Gujarat. It is mentioned among the sources of the Arabic History, *Zafaru'l-wālih*.

7. ظفر الواله عظفر وآلہ *Zafaru'l-Wālih bi Muẓaffar wa Ālih*, 'Abdullah Muḥammad bin 'Umar al-Makki al-Āṣafī Ulughkhāni, who was living till 1020 A.H. He wrote this book between 1015-20 A.H. in 2 volumes. Sir E. Denison Ross edited it from a unique autograph MSS. preserved in the library of Calcutta Madrasah and published it in 3 vols. The first volume was published in 1910, the second in 1921 and the 3rd in 1928. The editor has written a learned Introduction to the book and has supplied it with an Index. Since its publication in 1910 very

few scholars have been able to make use of this work. This being a comprehensive work on the Gujarat history, requires a thorough study and must be translated or adapted into English or vernacular languages in order to make it accessible to those who do not know Arabic.

8. السنا الباهر *As-Sana'l-Bāhir*, by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr ash-Shilli. This book was written in the 11th century. It is a continuation (*Dhail*) of an-Nūrus-Sāfir. It contains some account of the warfare between the Sultāns of Gujarat and the Portuguese (pp. 7-8). A MS. of this work is preserved in the library of Amir Ahmad Taimūr Pāsha, at Cairo in history section No. 2033.

9. نزعة الجليس و منيّة الأديب الانيس *Nuzhatu'l-Jalīs wa Munyatul-Ādib i'l-Anīs*, by al-'Abbās b. 'Ali b. Nūruddīn al-Makki al-Mūsawī.¹ It was written in 1148 A.H. and published in 1293 A.H. in Wahābiya Press, Cairo, in 2 volumes, pp. 399 and 412. The book contains an account of the author's travels in Egypt, Palestine, Persia, India² and Yemen. It is a sort of the author's diary in which he has not only recorded the details of his wanderings but has made long digressions for discussing certain topics of Arabic literature in which he was interested. He has given some distracted account of his perigrina-

¹ J. Elian Sarkis, *Mu'jam-u'l-Maṭbu'āt*, Vol. II. 1266.

² For Gujarat see Vol. I, pp. 367-371, 385, 389, 391, 394-396. Vol. II, pp. 17-20, 22, 28, 50-51, 63-65, 92-93, 131, 133-135.

tion in Gujarat (1137-1139 A.H.) which throws some light on the turbulent times when the Mughal Government was loosing fast its hold over Gujarat and the incursions of Marathas had brought about confusion and disorder in the country. He was an eye-witness to the Maratha depredations and the bloody struggle for power between the two rival nominees to the viceroyalty of Gujarat. The author has written his diary of Gujarat in a much desultory fashion and has so intermixed it with that of the other countries that it is difficult to read it in a serial and connected link. My learned friend Professor 'Abdul 'Azīz Maiman of the Muslim University, Aligarh, has taken great pains in sorting out the relevant passages on Gujarat and translating them into Urdu in a well-connected form. This translation appeared in the Urdu journal "Zabān" of Mangrol in 1927.

Besides the above-mentioned works, the travels of Ibn Battūta contain references to Gujarat, but since these pertain to the pre-Sultanate period we have not mentioned them among the Arabic sources. Moreover, the work has already been translated into English and Urdu and made use of by modern writers.¹

It must be remarked here that a host of Arabic epigraphs found in the archaeological monuments of Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat and Kathia-

¹ See Commissariat's *History of Gujarat*, p. 21.

war, can also be taken into account as the Arabic sources of the history of Gujarat Sultanate. Although a large number of them has seen the light of publication,¹ yet no serious attempt seems to have been made by scholars to study Gujarat history in the light of these inscriptions. However, it is a matter of gratification that my esteemed friend Dr. 'Abdulla Chaghtāi has recently made a beginning in this direction and compiled a collection of Ahmedabad inscriptions through which much light is thrown on the Muslim monuments of Ahmedabad. In this connection, we must not omit to mention the much important work, *viz.*, Professor Commissariat's stupendous volume on the History of Gujarat which is the first attempt to bring out, after much labour and research, a most comprehensive work on the Muslim period of the Gujarat history. In spite of having no direct access to the Arabic originals, both the Arabic inscriptions and some of the Arabic sources have been utilized by the author. Its chapters on the travels of Ibn Battūta and Sidi 'Ali Raīs are of special interest. The Arabic history of Gujarat is also one of the sources of the book.

It must also be noted here that there is a fine collection of Arabic books in the library of Pir Muhammad Shāh's mausoleum at Ahmedabad, in

¹ These inscriptions have been noticed and collected by Burgess and Chugtāi, as well as in the Indian Antiquary and Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagri.

which most of the Arabic MSS. contain, on their fly-leaves, titles, blank pages and margins, the autographs and seals of the famous authors and learned celebrities of Ahmedabad and Gujarat. Moreover, some historical information is also to be gleaned from the notes written on these MSS. Such informations have been noted down by the present writer in the catalogue of these MSS. prepared by him at the instance of the Pir Muḥammad Shāh Rawḍa Committee. This will also be a source of our information and will be very useful in forming a correct estimate of our intellectual and cultural heritage.

In conclusion, let us entertain a hope that the scholars will do well to study the above-mentioned Arabic works in order to make a thorough research in all the aspects and phases of the Sultanate period of Gujarat history.

I N D E X—I

(Persons)

- 'Abbas b. 'Ali, al-Mūsawī, 212.
'Abd al-Ghani b. Nazil, 173.
'Abd al-Jabbār, 176.
'Abd al-Laṭīf Baghdādi, 100.
'Abd al-Malik, 173-4.
'Abd al-Qādir, 172.
'Abd al-Qādir al-Ardūbarī, 40.
'Abd ar-Rahmān (al-Qushairī) 172.
'Abd al-Wāhid (al-Qushairī) 172.
'Abd al-Wahhāb, Abu'l-Faiz, 160.
'Abdī Shāh, Sayyid, 34.
'Abdullah, Mawlānā, 76.
'Abdullah al-Baqī, 161.
'Abdullah b. Ahmad al-Khashshāb, 22.
'Abdullah b. 'Ali al-Minqari, 167.
'Abdullah b. Tāhir, 113.
'Abd an-Nabi, Shaikh, 210.
'Abd as-Ṣamad, Miyan, 210.
Abraham (Patriarch), 144, 147, 150, 157.
Abū 'Ali al-Fārisī, 201.
Abū Bakr al-Qanṭarīni, 18.
Abū Bakr az-Zubāidi, 113.
Abū Ghālib Tammām, 114.
Abū Hāmid (al-Isfārāīni), 161.
Abū Ḥātim, as-Sijistāni, 15.
Abū Hayyān at-Tawhīdi, 106-7.
Abū Ishaq ash-Shirāzi, 7, 172.
Abū Ishaq (Shāh), 76.
Abū Kalijār, 181, 182, 185.
Abu'l-Fida, 8, 68, 116.
Abu'l-Ghanīm, Habashi, 19.
Abu'l-Halīfah, 162.
Abu'l-Husain al-Khurāṣāni, 18.
Abu'l-Qasim al-Karkhi, 188.
Abū Muṭrīf, 116.
Abū Ṭalib, al-Makki, 79.
Abū Usāmah, 14.
Abū Zafar Nadwi, 32.
'Adud ad-din, al-Īji, Qādi, 84.
Aflāki, Shamsu'd-din, 66, 67, 71.
Aghlamish (Serai of), 35.
Ahmad al-Bukhāri, 80.
Ahmad b. 'Abd ad-Dā'im, 6.
Ahmad b. 'Abdullah al-Huṭāiah, 4.
Ahmad b. 'Abdullah al-'Ukbarī, 172.
Ahmad b. Abi Khālid al-Āḥwal, 197.
Ahmad b. Akhī, 3.
Ahmad b. 'Ali b. Badrān, 173.
Ahmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Thawābah, 100.
Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Jurjāni, 173.
Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Qarashi 3.
Ahmad b. Sulaiman al-Qati'i, 4.
Ahmad b. Surūr, 110.
Ahmad Shāh, Sultān, 207, 210.
Ahmad Tal'at Bek, 198.
Al-'Aidrūsi, 'Abd al-Qādir, 208.
Akbar, 210.
Alafkhān, 209, 211.
'Allān, the Shu'Ubite, 107.
'Alā'u'd-din Khalji, 33.
'Alā'u'd-din, Ismailian ruler, 65-69, 71.
Alexander Ashrodosias, 16, 111.
'Ali, the Caliph, 131.
'Ali b. Abi'l-Qasim al-Muqrī, 173, 196.
'Ali b. Da'ūd, Abu'l-Hasan, 159.
'Ali b. Sa'id al-'Abdāri, 172.
'Ali Muttaqi, 210.
'Ali Naqi, 128.
'Ali Rais Sidi, 207-208, 213.

- 'Amīdu'l-Mulk al-Kunduri, 106.
 Amin-i-Rāzī, 33.
 Amir 'Ali, Syed, 16, 154.
 Ammianus, 147, 153.
 Aristotle, 17.
 Arzaq (scribe), 3.
 Aṣafkhān, 'Abd al-'Aziz, 206, 207.
 Asseman, 148-149, 151.
 Aurangzib, 121.
 Avicenna, 17, 36, 38-39, 41, 84.
 Azād, Bilgirāmi, 81.
 Al-'Aziz, (Fātimid), 116.
- Eusebeus, 142, 144.
 Ethe, Dr., 22-23, 27-28, 34-35.
- Bahādur Shāh, Gujarati, 206, 209.
 Al-Baidawī (commentator), 80.
 Bahraq, Muḥammad b. 'Umar, 209.
 Bal'ami, 14.
 Bezan, 25.
 Bihishti, 122-23.
 Al-Bīrūni, 33, 113.
 Brockelmann, 199-200.
 Browne, E.G., 31, 67, 70, 77.
 Buhtishī', 10, 114.
- Chaghtāi, Dr. M.A., 213.
 Chingizkhān, 210.
 Commissariat, Prof., 205, 214.
 Cousins, Henry, 27.
- Dāra Shukoh, 127-29, 129-31, 133, 134.
 Dawlatshāh, 66, 68-69, 70-71.
 De Slane, 1, 103, 199.
 Dhahabi, 104.
 Dioscorides, 142.
 Dulah Rai, 123.
- Eastwick, 34.
 Elliot, Sir Henry, 203.
- Fadl (Barmakid), 102.
 Al-Fakhri (historian), 169.
 Al-Fārābi, 18.
 Al-Farra', 8-10.
 Fātimah, Ummu'l-Fadl, 105.
 Firdawsī, 126.
 Forster, Rev., 147, 149, 155.
- Al-Ghazzālī, 8.
 Goldziher, Ignaz, 200.
 Gul-andām, Muḥammad, 74-83.
 Gibbon, 143, 146-48, 153.
- Hāfiẓ (poet), 73—95.
 Hagar, 149-51, 156-57.
 Hāji ad-Dabir, 203, 207, 211.
 Hāji Khalifah, 164, 197, 199-200.
 Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, 102.
 Al-Hakam, 8, 113.
 Hali, Mawlānā, 29-34.
 Hamdullah Mustawfi, 22, 68.
 Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, 102.
 Hasan b. Dā'ud, Abū 'Ali, 159.
 Hasan as-Sanjarī, 99.
 Hasan b. 'Ali al-Jabali, 162.
 Hasanawayh (scribe), 105.
 Al-Hazīrī, 15.
 Huart, Clement, 199.
 Hughes, T., 153.
 Humāyūn, 209.
- Ibn ad-Dāli, 99.
 Ibn Abd al-Hakam, 113.
 Ibn 'Abdūs, 3, 197.
 Ibn Abi Dā'ud, 112.
 Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, 113.

- Ibn Abi Uṣaibī'ah, 3.
 Ibn Abīkhar, 4.
 Ibn ad-Dabān, 118.
 Ibn al-'Adim, 105.
 Ibn al-'Alqamī, 113.
 Ibn al-Āthīr, 35, 68, 156, 160, 183.
 Ibn al-Baidāwī, 188.
 Ibn al-Bawwāb, 9, 99, 105.
 Ibn al-Fuwātī, 7.
 Ibn al-Khatīb, 192.
 Ibn al-Khāzin, 108.
 Ibn al-Khazzār, 18.
 Ibn an-Nadīm, 2, 12, 14, 108.
 Ibn an-Najīramī, 7.
 Ibn al-Qassār, 10.
 Ibn al-Qūn'e, 20.
 Ibn 'Asākir, 8.
 Ibn as-Sāigh, 99.
 Ibn as-Ṣalāh, 176, 179.
 Ibn at-Ṭābib (scribe), 197.
 Ibn az-Zajjāj, 105.
 Ibn Batlān, 192.
 Ibn Baṭutah, 21, 213-14.
 Ibn Durāid, 16.
 Ibn Faṭīs, 3.
 Ibn Ḥaitham, 3.
 Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, 179.
 Ibn Hajar al-Haitamī, 206.
 Ibn Hamd, 118.
 Ibn Hamdūn, 109.
 Ibn Ḥijjat al-Hamawī, 176.
 Ibn Ikhwāt al-Āṭṭār, 7.
 Ibn 'Imād, 179, 200.
 Ibn Jamā'ah, 169.
 Ibn Jawzī, 2, 9, 20, 108, 160, 181, 182.
 Ibn Khairān, 117.
 Ibn Khaldūn, 2, 97-98, 119, 169.
 Ibn Khāzinī'l-Kutub, 103.
 Ibn Khallikān, 1, 4, 8, 10, 130, 183, 194.
 Ibn Khurzad, 11.
 Ibn Killis, 9.
 Ibn Liyūn, 201.
 Ibn Mākūla, 161.
 Ibn Malsāqa, 3.
 Ibn Ma'ṣūm, 86.
 Ibn Misk as-Sakhawī, 99.
- Ibn Muqlah, 9, 99.
 Ibn Sa'd, 2.
 Ibn Sallām, 113.
 Ibn Shākir, 7.
 Ibn Taimiyah, 166.
 Ibn Wahīd, 99, 108.
 Ifrāīm az-Zafīr, 3.
 Ilāhwardīkhān, 133.
 Iltūtmish, 35.
 'Imād Isfahānī, 183.
 'Imād Faqīh, 73, 91.
 'Imād at-Tārimī, 209.
 Iqbāl, Muḥammad, 70, 91.
 İsbahānī, 166.
 İsfahānī, Abdu'l-Mu'min, 9.
 İshāq al-Mawsili, 3, 18.
 İshāq b. Hunain, 3.
 İshāq b. Ibrāhim at-Tamīmī, 99.
 Ishmael, 156.
- Ja'far (Barmakid), 102, 103.
 Ja'far, b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī, 163.
 Jahīz, 112, 176.
 Jalālu'd-dīn, 65, 69.
 Jalāl ad-Dawlah, 174-75, 184, 190.
 Jāmi, 28, 66-68, 73, 81.
 Jarīr, 11, 16.
 Jaswantsingh, 129.
 Al-Jawhāri, 9, 10.
 Jibrail (Physician), 117.
 Jiwan, Malik, 129.
- Kaleh, Paul, 206.
 Karkaria, R.P., 30.
 Al-Kāshifī, 167.
 Khalil b. Aḥmad, 16, 159.
 Al-Khatīb (of Baghdad), 159, 172, 191.
 Al-Khatīb, Lisānu'd-dīn, 20.
 Al-Khatīb (of Qazīwīn), 83.
 Al-Khatīb, Muḥammad b. Laith, 100.
 Khayyām, 'Umar, 37-39, 41.
 Khusraw, 73, 94.
 Al-Khwārizmī, 12.
 Khudāwandkhān, Ṣafar Salmāni, 209-10.

- Al-Kindi, 105.
 Al-Kirmāni, 4, 166.
 Kittoe, Lt., 28.
 Kramers, 27.
 Krenkow, F., 17.
- Mahādeva, 32.
 Maḥmūd of Ghazna, 32, 113.
 Maḥmūd (Begda), 113, 208.
 Maḥmūd II, 209.
 Maḥmūd (of Nishapur), 168.
 Mai'man, Prof. 'Abd al-'Azīz, 212.
 Malik Shāh, 39.
 Al-Ma'arrī, 82.
 Al-Māmūn, 8.
 Marco Polo, 33.
 Margoliouth, Prof. D.S., 108.
 Al-Maqrīzī, 15, 19, 20.
 Mas'ūd (Sulṭān), 113.
 Mas'ūdī, 21, 155-57.
 Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, 73.
 Al-Māwardī, 160.
 Max Enger, 198.
 Mirkhond, 69.
 Al-Mubarrad, 105.
 Al-Muḥallibi, 19.
 Muḥammad (the Prophet), 35, 131, 143, 153.
 Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm, al-Hārithī, 117.
 Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik, 112.
 Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Khair al-Husainī, 98.
 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, Abū Mansūr, 118.
 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ar-Ratī, 172.
 Muḥammad b. 'Ali al-Minqāri, 162.
 Muḥammad b. Bālish al-'Abdārī, 109.
 Muḥammad b. Ḥasan ash-Shaibānī, 174.
 Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, Jamālu'd-dīn, 210.
 Muḥammad b. Mu'allā al-Azdi, 162.
 Muḥammad b. Sa'id Abi'l-Qādī, 197.
- Muhammad b. 'Ubaidullah al-Qādī, 173, 196.
 Muhammad b. Ya'qūb ash-Shirāzī, 109.
 Muhammad Dīn, "Fawq", 66.
 Muhammad Husain, (scribe), 123.
 Al-Mu'izz b. Bādis, 98.
 Mujaḥid al-'Āmirī (Amir), 114.
 Al-Muqtadir, 100.
 Murād Bak̄hsh, 123, 125, 127, 129-135.
 Murād, Sultan of Turkey, 208.
 Al-Murtadā, Sharīf, 118.
 Al-Musabbihi, 11.
 Muṣṭafa, Muḥammad, 206.
 Al-Mustansir, 117.
 Al-Mutarrizi, 78.
 Muẓaffar, II, 209, 211.
 Al-Muzani, 201.
- Naftwayh, 105.
 An-Nahrwālī, Quṭbu'd-dīn, 208, 210.
 An-Nasaī, 5.
 Naṣru'd-dīn Ṭūsī, 127.
 Nelson, 154.
 Nicholson, Prof., 64, 67, 69, 71.
 Nicephorus, 155.
 Niẓamu'l-Mulk, 115, 169.
 Nöldeke, 152.
 Nūḥ (Sāmānid), 102.
 Nūrullah Shustari, 66, 71.
- Al-Pazdawi, 79-80.
 Pharo, 103.
 Pinto, Miss Olga, 16.
 Pir Muhammad Shāh, (Library of) 36, 37, 213.
 Pliny, 142, 147.
 Pocock, 146, 148, 151.
 Procopius, 147, 153.
 Ptolemy, 4, 142, 144, 147.

- Qādi Khan, Muḥammad**, 208.
Al-Qādir Billah, 193.
Al-Qāsim bi-Amrillah, 181, 183.
Al-Qiftī, 115.
- Ranchhodji**, 34.
Ar-Rāzī, 166.
Redhouse, 67.
Renaud, 154.
Rida Quli, 68, 71, 74.
Rieu, 70.
Ross, Sir E. D., 203, 211.
Ross, A., 28.
Ruben Levy, 31.
Ar-Rummāni, 176.
Rūmī, 64-65.
- Shibli, Mawlānā**, 30, 32, 34, 66, 67, 85
Ash-Shilli, Abu Bakr, 211.
Shuja', 131, 35.
Sibawayh, 159.
Sindi b. 'Ali, 3.
Siva, 32.
Smith, Robertson, 154.
Sprenger, Dr., 153.
Stephanus, 142, 149.
As-Subki, 165, 168-69, 194, 196, 199.
Sulaimān b. Qatramish, 6.
Sulaimān Nadvi, Sayyid, 35.
Sulaimān Pāsha, Admiral, 208.
Sulaimān, Sultan of Turkey, 207.
As-Sūli, Ibrahim, 112.
As-Suyūti, 'Ali b. 'Abdullah Ash-Shafi'i, 198.
As-Suyūti, Jalalu'd-dīn, 167, 198.

- Sabūr, (Academy of)**, 117.
Sa'di, 21—36, 73.
Ṣadiq 'Ali, 93.
Safadi, 56, 176, 194.
As-Saghāni, 113.
Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, 106, 114.
Saifu'd-Dawlah, 5.
As-Ṣāimari, ('Abd al-Wāhid), 161-168.
As-Sairāfi, 4, 10.
As-Sakhāwi, Shamsu'd-dīn, 205.
As-Sakkāki, 80.
Ṣalāhu'd-dīn, 14.
Salim, Sultan of Turkey, 208.
Salmān, the Turk, 209.
As-Sari ar-Raffa, 5.
Sarre, 13.
As-Sam'āni, 11, 14, 102, 105, 188.
Sarāh, 148-51, 154, 156-57.
As-Sāsi, 105.
Shāfi'i b. 'Ali, 110.
Şahbəz, 128.
Şah Jahān, 126, 130, 134.
Şams Tabrizi, 64.
Ash-Shantarini, 1, 6.
Şarıf, Sayyid Jurjani, 84.

- Tabari, (Ibn Jarīr)**, 7, 16.
Tabari, Qādi, Abu't-Ṭayyib, 188-89.
Tāhir II, 103.
Taimūr Pāsha (Amir Ahmad), 101, 212.
Talha b. Tāhir, 102.
At-Tamīmī, 189.
At-Tanūkhi, 104.
Al-Tarsūni, (Abū 'Ubaidah), 14.
Tāsh Köprüzādah, 162, 167, 196, 199-200.
De Tassy, Garcin, 34.
At-Tirmidhi, 5.
Tughraî, 83.
Tughrilbek, 183-85.

- 'Umar (Caliph), 131.
'Uthmān (Caliph), 131.
Uwais b. Wafa, 201.

- Vambery, Prof. A., 208.

Al-Wajīh b. Ṣūrah, 15.
Al-Waqidi 3, 116.
Wāsil, 176.

Yāqūt al-Musta'simi, 9.
Yazid, 80.

Yahya b. 'Adi, 7.
Yahya b. Muhammād al-Wazīr, 99.
Yāqūt al-Hamawi, 4, 14, 15, 17, 19,
104, 108, 109, 115, 118, 176, 193,
196, 199.
Az-Zāhir, Al-Malik, 14.
Zainu'd-din al-Āmidī, 15.
Zamakhshari, 78.

I N D E X—II

(Places and Books etc.)

- A 'alḍmu'n-Nubuwah, 163, 199, 201.
 Abyssinia, 22.
 Acroasis, 16.
Adabu'd-dunya wa'd-din, 163, 165,
 201, 202.
Adabu'l-Qāḍī, 200.
Ādābu'l-Wazīr, 170.
Ādharbaijan, 35.
 Africa, 22.
Ahlū'l-Hadīth, 180.
 Ahmedabād, 37, 127, 128, 133.
Aḥkāmu's-Sulṭāniya, 160, 163, 170,
 193, 198.
 Akbarabād, 129.
 Alamūt, 65, 68, 72.
 Aleppo, 105.
 Alexandria, 4.
Alfiyyah, 81.
 Arabia, 22, 142, 143, 149.
Āshūb-i-Hind, 121-122.
Atlakh, 11.
Avesta, 25.

 Ba'alebek, 22.
Badāyi'uṣ-Zuhūr, 205.
Baghdād, 2, 3, 10, 15, 18-20, 22, 102,
 103, 107, 116-119, 162, 180, 183,
 191, 192.
Badakshān, 133.
Balkh, 22, 23, 133.
 Banū 'Ammār, 18, 116.
al-Barqu'l-Yamāni, 208.
 Baṣra, 159-161, 178, 180.

al-Bayānu wa't-tabyīn, 112, 160.
 Bāzar, 69.
Būstān, 21, 24, 30.

 Cairo (Egypt), 8, 10, 20, 115, 120, 144.
 Cambay, 35.
 Cordova, 114.

Dalā'ilu'n Nubuwah, 163.
 Damascus, 3, 11, 22, 65, 117.
 ad-Damiriya Library, 17.
 Darb az-Za'farānī, 162.
ad-Dawu'l-Lāmi', 205.
 Delhi, 34.
 Div. Port, 209.
Diwān-i-Hafiz, 74, 77, 78 ; Commen-
 tary on, 93.
Diwān of Jarīr, 11, 16.
Diwān of Shams Tabrizi, 67.
Diwān of Yazid, 80.

 Edomites, 150.
Euclid, 4.

Ghairbu'l-Muṣannaf, 113.
 Ghazna, 22, 23.
Ghurratu'l-Kamāl, 94.
 Granada, 108.
 Gujarat, 11, 22, 23, 36, 127, 128, 203,
 204.
Gulistān, 21, 22, 34, 35.
 Gwalior, 135.

- Hadīth**, 85, 87, 162.
Hamāt, Syria, 8, 14.
Hamdānid, dynasty, 15.
Hijāz, 22, 26, 34, 36, 144.
Hikmatu'l-'Ain, 84.
- al-Iqnā'*, 165, 193, 200.
Iṛghādu'l-Ārib, 108, 118.
Ismailite (Sect), 66.
- Ispahān, 35, 39.
- Jamhara**, 16.
Jains, 32.
Jāmi'u'l-Qarawiyīn, 197
Jūnāgadh, 33, 124.
- Kāfiya**, 81.
al-Kāfi, 114, 201.
Kaghadi, 11.
Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Berlin), 13.
Karkār, 115, 116.
Kashghar, 22.
Kashshāf, 77, 79.
Kashfu'l-Asrār, 79, 80.
Kathiawar, 11.
Ketureans, 150.
Kitab al-Fihrist, 108.
K. fī'l-Buyū', 165, 202.
K. fī'n-Nāhw, 201.
K. fi Siratū'n-Nabāwiyyah, 201.
K. al-Hayawān, 112.
K. al-Hudūd, 8.
K. al-Istighna, 169.
K. al-Ma'āni, 8, 104.
K. an-Nāhw, 159.
K. al-Umm, 171.
K. az-Zird'ati wan nakhli, 112.
Kūfa, 13.
Kurrāsa, 6, 104.
- Lahore, 129, 134.
- Laṭāifu'l-Khayāl**, 84.
- Maḍīhir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī**, 203.
Maccabees, 150.
Madīnatu'l-Mansūr, 192.
Majasti, 4.
Majma'u'l-Ādāb, 7.
Maṭāli'u'l-Anzār, 77, 80.
Mathnawi, 64.
Marathas, 213.
Mawṣil, 115, 116.
Mecca, 127.
Metaphysics of Aristotle, 17, 18.
Miftaḥu'l-'Ulūm, 77, 80.
Miṣbāḥ, 77.
Mu'jamu'l-Buldān, 108, 115.
Mu'tazilites, 177, 180.
- Nahrwala, 208.
Nizāmiya College, 115, 116.
an-Nukatu wa'l-Ūyūn, 197,
an-Nūru's-Sāfir, 115, 116.
Nuzhatu'l-Jalīs, 212.
- Palestine, 11, 22.
Parān, 142.
Portuguese, 208.
Punjab, 22, 23.
- Qadarites**, 180.
Qāḍī'l-Qudāt, post of, 174-175, 187.
al-Qāmūs, 108.
al-Qānūn, 84.
Qānūn-i-Mas'ūdi, 113.
Qonia, 65.
al-Qudūri, 6.
Qur'ān, 7, 9, 14, 15, 78, 79, 85, 103,
 166, 167, 177, 179.
- Rāmharmuz, 115, 116.
Rayy, 35.
Rekhta, 34.
Ridyād, ar-Ridwān, 205.

- Sābūr's Academy, 117, 118.
 Samarqand, 11.
 Samugarh, 129.
as-Sana'l-Bāhir,
 Saraka, 142, 149, 150.
 Saracens, 140-158.
Şāh Nama, 126.
ash-Shifa, 84.
Sharḥ a'l-Mawdūf, 84.
Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Muzani, 165.
 Sind, 23.
Sirru's-Surūr, 168.
Siyāsatu'l-Malik, 170, 199.
 Somnāth, 21, 23, 24.
 Sūrat, 128.
 Sūrya Narāyan Temple, 34.
Suwāru'l-Aqḍīm, 14.
- Tabriz, 67.
Ṭabaqat-i-Mahmūd Şāhī, 203.
 Talas, 11.
Tafsīr of Tabarī, 7.
- Talqīḥu'l-'Ain*, 114.
Tārikh-i-Āḥmad Şāhī, 203.
Tārikh-i-Bahādur Şāhī, 203.
Tārikh-i-Muhammad Şāhī, 203.
Tārikh-i-Muẓaffar Şāhī, 203.
Tārikh-i-Sorath, 34.
 Tartary, 22.
Tashīlu'n-Nāṣr, 170, 199.
 Tayy, 142, 153.
 Testament, old, 157.
 Thamūd, 142.
 Tihāmah, 102.
 Tripolis, (Syria), 8, 12, 116.
Tuhfatu's-Ṣalawāt, 167.
- al-'Ubāb*, 113.
 Ujjain, 128.
- Yemen, 22, 26, 34, 36, 102, 144.
- Zafaru'l-Wālih*, 204, 207.
- Zend, 25, 26.

ERRATA

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
5	23	Ar-Raffa as-Siri	as-Sari ar-Raffa
10	17	aṣ-Ṣairāfi	as-Sairāfi
12 f. n.	6	'Arib, aṣ-Ṣilah, p. 90 (Leiden)	Fihrist, p. 14
13 f. n.	1	Fihrist, p. 14	'Arib, aṣ-Ṣilah, p. 90. (Leiden).
35	14	Altumish	Altūmish
55	2	لى	بى
63	14	الشتجىه	الشبيهة
69	2	Anthorities	Authorities
73	11	as it	as their poetry
75	18	by virtue of that Qur'ān (I swear) by the Qur'ān which.....	which which
76	11	vault	corridor
80	4	al-Bazūdī	al-Pazdawī
81	20	Compensation of a hypothesis	Apodosis جزاء of a Protasis شرط
82	16	al-Tannūkhi	at-Tanūkhi
87	14	ال	قال
87	14	ادى	د
87 f. n.	6	Majma'u	Majma'u
88 f. n.	3	بالهجر والهجر	(to be omitted)
88	15	بالهجر والهجر	بالهجر والهجر
89	14	هـ آلينـ	هـ آلينـ
90	13	راً آيناً	رأينا
90	19	Āzād	Ādhār
90	20	حافت خمامـ	جافت غمامـ
92	9	لا ينادى	لي ينادى
93	20	صابرا	صيابة
94	5	تيرحوموا	يترحموا
97	1	directly	indirectly
100	11	احضـاء	احضـاء

STUDIES: ISLAMIC AND ORIENTAL

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
105	15	Salmaway hand	Salmawayh and
105	15	Name sending	Names ending
109	5	Disposing of them	Disposing them off
113	23	reward 5	reward 4
118	8-9	Scholar's book collection, Ibn ad-Dahan	Scholar Ibn ad-Dahān
128	22	Shikoh	Shukoh
130	13	Pärcha	Parcha
135	15	uttering word	uttering a word
126	23	بَسْ	بسى
160	5	Sultaniah	Sulṭaniyah
194	25	يقطعها من تصفيفها لقطيعهم من تصفييفها	

